

Edward Craven Hawtrey



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

CONTENTS

OF THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XXVIII.

HENRY VIII.

Wolsey's administration.——Scots affairs.——Progress of Francis the first.——Jealousy of Henry.——Tournay delivered to France.——Wolsey appointed legate.——His manner of exercising that office.——Death of the emperor Maximilian.——Charles, King of Spain, chosen emperor.——Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.——The emperor Charles arrives in England.——Mediation of Henry.——Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham. Page 1

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Wolsey's administration.——Scots affairs.——Progress of Francis the first.——Jealousy of Henry.——Tournay delivered to France.——Wolsey appointed legate.——His manner of exercising that office.——Death of the emperor Maximilian.——Charles, King of Spain, chosen emperor.——Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.——The emperor Charles arrives in England.——Mediation of Henry.——Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham. Page 1

CHAP. XXIX.

Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.——Origin of the reformation.——Martin Luther.——Henry receives the title of defender of the faith.——Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation.——War with France.——Invaſion of France.——War with Scotland.——A Parliament.——Invaſion of France.——Italian wars.——The King of France invades Italy.——Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis.——Francis recovers his liberty.——Sack of Rome.——League with France. 32

CHAP. XXX.

Scruples concerning the King's marriage——The King enters into theſe ſcruples.——Anne Boleyne.——Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.——The pope favourable.——The Emperor threatens him.——The pope's ambiguous conduct.——The cauſe evoked to Rome.——Wolſey's fall.——Commencement of the reformation in England.——Foreign affairs.——Wolſey's death.——A Parliament.——Progreſs of the reformation.——A Parliament.——King's final breach with Rome.——A Parliament. 83

CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people——of the King——of the miniſters.——Farther progreſs of the reformation.——Sir Thomas More.——The maid of Kent.——Trial and execution of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter——of Sir Thomas More.——King excommunicated.——Death of Queen Catherine.——Suppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries.——A Parliament.——A convocation.——Tranſlation of the Bible.——Diſgrace of Queen Anne.——Her trial——and execution.——A Parliament.——A convocation.——Diſcontents among the people.——Inſurrection.——Birth of prince Edward and death of Queen Jane.——Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries.——Cardinal Pole. 136

CHAP. XXXII.

Diſputation with Lambert——A Parliament——Law of the ſix articles——Proclamations made equal to laws——Settlement of the ſucceſſion——King's projects of marriage——He marries Anne of Cleves——He diſlikes her——A Parliament——Fall of Cromwel——His execution——King's divorce from Anne of Cleves——His marriage with Catherine

Catherine Howard——State of affairs in Scotland ——Discovery of the Queen's crimes——A Parliament——Ecclesiastical affairs. 205

CHAP. XXXIII.

War with Scotland.——Victory at Solway.——Death of James the fifth.——Treaty with Scotland.——New rupture.——Rupture with France.——A Parliament.——Affairs of Scotland.——A Parliament.——Campaign in France.——A Parliament.——Peace with France and Scotland.——Persecutions.——Execution of the Earl of Surrey.——Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk.——Death of the King.——His character.——His laws. 246

CHAP. XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

State of the regency.——Innovations in the regency.——Somerset protector.——Reformation compleated.——Gardiner's opposition.——Foreign affairs.——Progress of the reformation in Scotland.——Assassination of cardinal Beaton.——Conduct of the war with Scotland.——Battle of Pinkey.——A Par-

A Parliament.——Farther progreſs of the reformation.——Affairs of Scotland.——Young Queen of Scots ſent into France.——Cabals of lord Seymour.——Dudley earl of Warwick.——A Parliament.——Attainder of lord Seymour.——His execution.——Eccleſiaſtical affairs. 301

CHAP. XXXV.

Diſcontents of the people.——Inſurrections.——Conduct of the war with Scotland——with France.——Factions in the council.——Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet.——Somerſet reſigns the protectorſhip. A Parliament.——Peace with France and Scotland.——Boulogne ſurrendered.——Perſecution of Gardiner.——Warwic created duke of Northumberland.——His ambition.——Trial of Somerſet.——His execution.——A Parliament.——A new Parliament.——Succeſſion changed.——The King's ſickneſs——and death. 351

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen.——Deſerted by the people.——The Queen proclaimed and acknowleged.

leged.——Northumberland executed.——Catholic religion restored.——A Parliament.——Deliberations with regard to the Queen's marriage.——Queen's marriage with Philip.——Wyat's insurrection.——Suppressed.——Execution of Lady Jane Gray.——A Parliament.——Philip's arrival in England. 393

CHAP. XXXVII.

Reasons for and against Toleration——Persecutions.——A Parliament.——The Queen's extortions.——The emperor resigns his crown.——Execution of Cranmer.——War with France.——Battle of St. Quintin.——Calais taken by the French.——Affairs of Scotland.——Marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots.——A Parliament.——Death of the Queen. 434

20 JY 63

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HENRY VIII.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Wolsey's administration.——Scots affairs.——Progress of Francis the first.——Jealousy of Henry.——Tournay delivered to France.——Wolsey appointed legate.——His manner of exercising that office.——Death of the emperor Maximilian.——Charles, King of Spain, chosen emperor.——Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.——The emperor Charles arrives in England.——Mediation of Henry.——Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1515. Wolsey's administration.

THE numerous enemies, whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who placed a pride in supporting the choice, which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the King's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant,

CHAP. XXVIII.

1515. which he acquired; and while he ſecretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind ſubmiſſion to the will and authority of his maſter. By entering into the King's pleaſures, he ſtill preſerved his affections; by conducting his buſineſs, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaiſance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealouſy, to which his exorbitant acquiſitions, and his ſplendid, oſtentatious train of life ſhould naturally have given birth. The archbiſhopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambrige, Wolſey was promoted to that ſee, and reſigned the biſhopric of Lincoln. Beſides enjoying the adminiſtration of Tournay, he got poſſeſſion, at very low leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, next that of Wincheſter; and there ſeemed to be no end of his acquiſitions. His advancement in eccleſiaſtical dignity ſerved him as a pretence for engroſſing ſtill more revenues: The pope, obſerving his great influence over the King, was deſirous of engaging him in his intereſt, and had created him a cardinal. Never churchman, under colour of exacting regard to religion, carried to a more exorbitant height, the ſtate and dignity of that character. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to ingratiate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants. Whoever was diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience payed court to the cardinal; and none payed court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found

found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition[a]. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wiſe, he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the ſplendour of his equipage and furniture, the coſtly embroidery of his liveries, the luſtre of his apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes[b]. He cauſed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and when he came to the King's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on whoſe top was placed a croſs: But not content with this parade, to which he thought himſelf intitled as cardinal, he provided another prieſt of equal ſtature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury; contrary to the antient rule and agreement between the prelates of theſe rival ſees[c]. The people made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation; and ſaid they were now ſenſible, that one croſs alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

WARHAM, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, averſe to all diſputes, choſe rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the ſeals were immediately intruſted to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity encreaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his ca-

a Eraſm. Epiſt. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. lib. 16. epiſt. 3.
b Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Hollingſhed, p. 847.
c Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

pacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity[d].

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the King's money almoſt entirely exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclination for expence ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, reaped no advantage from his abſence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf entirely to the care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence, that the King, by the cardinal's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy without a rival the whole power and favour of the King; and put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain, did Fox, before his retirement, warn the King "not to "ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter:" Henry replied, "that he knew well how to retain all "his ſubjects in obedience;" but he continued ſtill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counſels of the cardinal.

THE public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the general adminiſtration of juſtice, by the cardinal's means[e], ſo exact, that no domeſtic occurrence happened ſo remarkable as to diſturb the repoſe of the King and his miniſter: They might even have diſpenſed with

[d] Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

[e] Eraſm. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. Cavendiſh, Hall.

themſelves

themſelves from giving any ſtrict attention to foreign affairs, were it poſſible for men to enjoy any ſituation in abſolute tranquillity, or abſtain from projects and enterprizes, however fruitleſs and unneceſſary. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

THE will of the late King of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of eſtates, which confirmed that deſtination, had expreſsly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried[f]: But notwithſtanding this limitation, a few months after her huſband's death, ſhe eſpouſed the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a nobleman of great family and very promiſing hopes. Some of the nobility now propoſed the election of Angus as regent, and recommended this choice as the moſt likely means of preſerving peace with England: But the jealouſy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglaſſes, begot oppoſition to this meaſure. Lord Hume in particular, the moſt powerful chieftain in the kingdom, inſiſted on recalling the duke of Albany, ſon to a brother of James the third, who had been baniſhed into France, and who, having there married, had left poſterity, that were the next heirs to the crown, and the neareſt relations to their young ſovereign. Albany, though firſt prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their ſituation, unpracticed in their language; yet ſuch was the favour attending the French alliance, and ſo great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany ſome time in France; but at laſt, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſts, he permitted him Scots affairs.

[f] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

to go over, and take poſſeſſion of the regency: He even renewed the antient league with that kingdom, tho' it implied ſuch a cloſe connexion, as might be thought ſomewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made enquiries concerning the ſtate of the country, and character of the people; and diſcovered a ſcene, with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, and that not a cloſe one, of petty princes, than a regular ſyſtem of civil polity; and even the King, much more a regent, poſſeſt an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or juſtice, was the virtue moſt valued and reſpected. The nobility, in whom the whole power reſided, were ſo connected by hereditary alliances, or ſo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impoſſible, without employing force, either to puniſh the moſt flagrant guilt, or give ſecurity to the moſt entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exerciſed on a hoſtile tribe, inſtead of making a perſon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to eſteem and approbation, and by rendering him uſeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And tho' the neceſſity of mutual ſupport ſerved as a cloſe cement of friendſhip among thoſe of the ſame kindred, the ſpirit of revenge againſt enemies, and the deſire of proſecuting the deadly feuds, (ſo they were called) ſtill appeared to be paſſions the moſt predominant among that uncultivated people.

The perſons, to whom Albany firſt applied for information with regard to the ſtate of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume[s]; and they

[s] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

repre-

represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws, and administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had been, in a great measure, beholden for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance, with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the change, and was incited, both by views of his own security and his revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed, from the ambition of Albany, the next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion, Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young King, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was discovered, she herself, accompanied with Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malecontents, and assured them of his protection. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for some time, detained prisoner in his castle.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515. But having perſwaded Arran to enter into the conſpiracy with him, he was allowed to make his eſcape; and he openly made war upon the regent. A new accommodation enſued, not more ſincere than the foregoing; and Hume was ſo imprudent as to put himſelf, together with his brother, into the hands of the regent. They were immediately ſeized, committed to cuſtody, brought to their trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved againſt theſe brothers: It was only alleged, that, at the battle of Flouden, they had not done their duty in ſupporting the King; and as this backwardneſs could not, from the whole courſe of their paſt life, be aſcribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidences, however, of guilt produced againſt them, were far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while alive, were very much diſſatisfied with their execution.

SUCH violent remedies often produce, for ſome time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they deſtroy mutual confidence, and beget the moſt inveterate animoſities, their conſequences are commonly very fatal both to the public, and to thoſe who make trial of them. The regent, however, took advantage of the preſent calm which prevailed; and being invited by the French king, who was, at that time, willing to gratify Henry, he went over into France; and was detained there during five years. A great part of his authority he entruſted into the hands of Darcy, a Frenchman, whom he created warden of the marches, and who was extremely vigilant in the diſtribution of juſtice, and the puniſhment of crimes and oppreſſion. But Sir David Hume, a kinſman of the nobleman lately executed, deſirous of revenging his friend's death on the friend of the regent, way-laid Darcy near Dunſe; and after reproaching him with that execution, made an attack upon him. Darcy finding himſelf

himſelf too weak to reſiſt, and truſting to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, fled towards Dunbar; but being ignorant of the roads, he ran into a bog, was overtaken by the purſuers, and put to death. As he wore long flowing hair, Hume, exulting in this aſſaſſination as a gallant exploit, cut out theſe locks, and plaiting them into a wreath, wore them ever after at the pummel of his ſaddle [h]. During the abſence of the regent, ſuch confuſions prevailed in Scotland, and ſuch mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was, for a long time, utterly diſabled both from offending its enemies, and aſſiſting its friends. We have carried on the Scots hiſtory ſome years beyond the preſent period; that as that country had little connexion with the general ſyſtem of Europe, we might be the leſs interrupted in the narration of thoſe memorable events, which were tranſacted in the other kingdoms. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

It was foreſeen, that a young, active prince, like Francis, and of ſo martial a diſpoſition, would ſoon employ the great preparations, which his predeceſſor, before his death, had made for the conqueſt of Milan. He had been obſerved even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaſton de Foix; and theſe tears of emulation were held to be ſure prognoſtics of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing, as he thought, ſecure behind him, he marched his armies towards the ſouth of France; pretending, that his ſole purpoſe was to ſecure his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Swiſs. That formidable people ſtill retained their animoſity againſt France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and indeed reduced him to abſolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of intereſt, to defend him

[h] Buchanan, lib. 14. Pitſcottie.

againſt

CHAP. XXVIII.

1515. againſt this invader[i]. They fortified themſelves with numerous forces in all thoſe vallies of the Alps, thro' which, they thought, the French muſt neceſſarily paſs; and when Francis, with great ſecrecy, induſtry, and perſeverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another paſſage, they were not diſmayed, but deſcended into the plain, tho' unprovided of cavalry, and oppoſed themſelves to the progreſs of the French arms. At Marignan near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the moſt furious and beſt conteſted battles, which is to be met with in the hiſtory of theſe latter ages; and it required all the heroic valour of that prince to inſpire his troops with courage ſufficient to reſiſt the deſperate aſſault of thoſe mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkneſs parted the combatants; but next morning, the Swiſs renewed the attack with equal alacrity; and it was not till they had loſt all their braveſt troops that they could be prevailed with to retire. The field was ſtrowed with twenty thouſand ſlain of both ſides; and the mareſchal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement, which he had yet ſeen, was only the play of children, but that the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes[k].

Progreſs of Francis the firſt.

13th September.

AFTER this great victory, the conqueſt of the Milaneze was eaſy and open. Francis, ſenſible how important the alliance of the cantons was, even in their loweſt fortune, gave them all the conditions which they could have demanded, had they been ever ſo ſucceſsful; and he courted their friendſhip by every poſſible condeſcenſion. The Venetians were in alliance with France; and as they truſted entirely to the ſucceſſes of that crown for the final recovery of their dominions on the continent, they

[i] Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1. Guiceiardini, lib. 12.

[k] Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

ſeconded

seconded Francis in every enterprize. Pope Leo, whose sole fault was too great fineſſe and artifice, a fault, which, both as a prieſt and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid, had hitherto temporized between the parties; and Francis's victory at Marignan determined him abſolutely to embrace the friendſhip of that monarch [1]. But what both facilitated moſt, and ſecured the conqueſt of the Milaneze, was the reſolution of Maximilian Sforza himſelf, who, tired of the viciſſitudes of his fortune, diſguſted with the tyranny of the Swiſs, and deſirous of privacy and repoſe, put himſelf into Francis's hands; and having ſtipulated a yearly penſion of thirty thouſand ducats, reſigned all pretenſions to that dutchy, and retired into France. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

THE ſucceſs and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealouſy in Henry; and his rapid progreſs, tho' in ſo diſtant a country, was not regarded without apprehenſions by the Engliſh miniſtry. Italy was during that age the ſeat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it poſſeſſed alone that luſtre, which has ſince been ſhared among other nations, it fixed the attention of all Europe, and every acquiſition which was made there, appeared more important than its weight in the ballance of power ſhould, ſtrictly ſpeaking, have made it be eſteemed. Henry alſo thought, that he had reaſon to complain of Francis for ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his ſiſter, the queen dowager [2]. The repairing the fortifications of Teroüenne was alſo regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the diſguſt which Wolſey had taken againſt the French monarch. Jealouſy of Henry.

[1] Guicciardini, lib. 12. Paullus Jovius.
[2] Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

HENRY,

CHAP. XXVIII.

1515. HENRY, on the conqueſt of Tournay, had refuſed to admit Lewis Gaillart, the biſhop elect, to the poſſeſſion of the temporalities, becauſe that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new ſovereign; and Wolſey was appointed, in his room, adminiſtrator of the biſhopric. As the cardinal wiſhed to obtain free and undiſturbed poſſeſſion, he applied to Francis, and deſired him to beſtow on Gaillart ſome ſee of equal value in France, and to obtain his reſignation of Tournay. Francis, who ſtill hoped to recover poſſeſſion of that city, and who feared that the full ſettlement of Wolſey in the biſhopric would prove an obſtacle to his purpoſe, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the biſhop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his ſettlement in that ſee. Wolſey, who expected to be complied with in every requeſt, and who exacted reſpect even from the greateſt monarchs, reſented the ſlight put upon him by Francis; and he puſhed his maſter to ſeek an occaſion for wreaking his vengeance againſt that monarch [b].

MAXIMILIAN the emperor was ready to embrace every propoſal of a new enterprize, eſpecially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was extremely greedy, extremely prodigal, and extremely neceſſitous. Richard Pace, formerly ſecretary to cardinal Bambrige, now ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commiſſion to propoſe ſome conſiderable payments to Maximilian [c]: He thence made a journey into Switzerland; and by like motives engaged ſome of the cantons to furniſh troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a conſiderable army; but being repulſed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and

[b] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. [c] Petrus de Angleria, epiſt. 568.

Venice,

Venice, delivered Verona to that republic for a ſum of money, and thus excluded himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from all future acceſs into Italy. And Henry found, that, after expending five or ſix hundred thouſand ducats, in order to gratify the cardinal's reſentment, he had only looſened his alliance with Francis, without diminiſhing the power of that prince. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

THERE were many reaſons, which engaged the King not to proceed farther at preſent in his enmity againſt France. He could hope for aſſiſtance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father in law, who had often deceived him, was now declining faſt thro' age and infirmities; and a ſpeedy end was looked for to the long and proſperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, prince of Spain, ſovereign of the Low Countries, deſired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it ſo much in his power, if provoked, to obſtruct his peaceable acceſſion to that rich inheritance, which was waiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a cloſe alliance with that monarchy [d]. Henry therefore remained in tranquillity during ſome time; and ſeemed to give himſelf no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into ſome expence, by offering to make a reſignation of the imperial crown in his favour. That artifice was too groſs to ſucceed even with a prince ſo little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning, that the ſole view of that prince, in making him ſo liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

WHILE an univerſal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened, which had ſo long been looked for, and from which ſuch important conſequences were expected, 1516.

[d] Guicciardini, lib. 12.

the

CHAP. XXVIII.

the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the ſucceſſion of his grandſon, Charles, to his extenſive dominions. No commotion, however, or alteration followed immediately upon that great incident. This young prince, who had not yet reached his ſixteenth year, was already a great ſtateſman, from the excellent education which he had received, and from the mature and ſolid judgment, with which nature had endowed him. He was ſenſible how important it was to preſerve peace with foreigners, till he ſhould have eſtabliſhed his authority in his new dominions; and finding Francis deſirous to take advantage of his preſent ſituation, he made him an offer of ſuch terms as gained the friendſhip and alliance of that monarch. He engaged to marry Francis's daughter, tho' only an infant of a year old; to receive as her dowry all her father's pretenſions on the kingdom of Naples; to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns a year, till the conſummation of the marriage; and to give the King of Navarre ſatisfaction with regard to his dominions [e].

1516. 15th Jan.

1517. Charles, having finiſhed this treaty at Noyon by his miniſters, and having thus left every thing in ſecurity in the Low-Countries, departed for Spain, and was willingly received to the government of theſe united kingdoms. The right of ſucceſſion lay in his mother, Joan, who was ſtill alive; but as ſhe was uſually diſordered in her judgment, Ferdinand had left the adminiſtration to his grandſon, Charles; and the ſtates, both of Caſtile and Arragon, gave their conſent to this deſtination.

THE more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis ſenſible of the neceſſity he lay under of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of Henry; and he took at laſt the only method by which he could obtain ſucceſs, the paying court, by preſents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal.

[e] Recueil de Traités par Leonard, tom. ii.

BONNIVET,

CHAP. XXVIII.

1518.

BONNIVET, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities for which he was remarkable, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship, which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth observed to express himself, on all occasions, in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs, and in all difficult emergencies had recourse to him as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the King of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that, he said, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself [f].

WHEN matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effectuate his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the King and council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of a war, to keep the communication open between these two places: That as it was situate on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to the attacks of both these powers, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: That even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without

[f] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

a large

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

a large garriſon, to reſtrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever diſcontented with the Engliſh government: And that the poſſeſſion of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expenſive, ſo was it entirely uſeleſs, and gave little or no means to annoy, on occaſion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

THESE reaſons were of themſelves very convincing, and were ſure of meeting with no oppoſition, when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty therefore was entered into for the delivering up of Tournay; and in order to give to that meaſure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the Dauphin and the princeſs Mary, both of them infants, ſhould be betrothed, and that this city ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of the princeſs. Such kinds of agreement were then common among ſovereigns, tho' it was very rare, that the intereſts and views of the parties continued ſo ſteady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at conſiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve yearly payments, and to put into his hands eight hoſtages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article [g]. And leſt the cardinal ſhould think himſelf neglected in theſe ſtipulations, he promiſed him a yearly penſion of twelve thouſand livres, as an equivalent for his adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay. He alſo engaged to recall Albany from Scotland.

Tournay delivered to France.

FRANCIS having ſucceeded ſo well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more conſiderable advantages, by practiſing on the vanity and ſelf conceit of this haughty favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, conſulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter,

[g] Memoires du Bellay, liv. 1.

father,

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

father, *tutor*, *governor*, and profeſſed the moſt unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All thoſe careſſes were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ſpite to Wolſey, on account of his being diſpoſſeſſed of his employment and thrown into priſon by that miniſter, ſo extravagant a propoſal met with a very favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was contented to ſound privately the opinions of men, by dropping hints in converſation, as if he thought Calais a uſeleſs burthen to the kingdom [h]: But when he found, that all men were ſtrongly riveted in a contrary perſuaſion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpoſe; and falling, ſoon after, into new attachments with the King of Spain, the great friendſhip between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

Wolſey appointed legate.

THE enormous pride of Wolſey was now farther encreaſed by a great acceſſion of dignity and power which he had received. Cardinal Campeggio had been ſent as legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks; a danger which was real, and was formidable to all Chriſtendom, but which had been ſo often made uſe of to ſerve the intereſted purpoſes of the court of Rome, that it had loſt all influence on the minds of the people. The Clergy refuſed to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the King deſired of the pope, that Wolſey, who had been joined in this commiſſion, might alone be inveſted with the legatine power, together with the right of viſiting all the clergy and monaſteries, and even with ſuſpending all the

[h] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

laws of the church during a twelve-month. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade, to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not contented without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: Not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having wrote him a letter, where he subscribed himself, *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," he said, "that this man is drunk with too much pros-"perity."

His manner of exercising that office.

But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the King's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of this new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laiety, and directed it to examine into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions, which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was justly taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man, who indulged himself in the licenses of pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of immorality in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen the judge in it, a person of scandalous life [i], whom

[i] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

he

he himſelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury: And as this man either exacted fines from every one whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or took bribes to drop proſecutions, men concluded, and with ſome appearance of reaſon, that he ſhared with the cardinal theſe wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were expoſed to this tyranny; and as the libertiniſm of their lives often gave a juſt handle againſt them, they were obliged to buy an indemnity, by paying large ſums of money to the legate or his judge. Not contented with this authority, Wolſey pretended, by virtue of his commiſſion, to aſſume the power of all the biſhops courts; particularly that of judging of Wills and Teſtaments; and his deciſions in theſe important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himſelf were pope, and as if the pope could diſpoſe abſolutely of every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, he preſented to whatever priories or benefices he pleaſed, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry [k].

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

No one durſt carry to the King any complaint againſt theſe uſurpations of Wolſey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the diſcontents of his people. Henry profeſſed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," ſaid he, "is not ſo blind any where as in his own houſe: "But do you, father," added he to the primate, "go "to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that "he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only ſerved to augment Wolſey's en-

[k] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narration has been copied by all the hiſtorians from the author here cited: There are many circumſtances, however, very ſuſpicious, both becauſe of the obvious partiality of the hiſtorian, and becauſe the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolſey's conduct, could find no proof for any material crime he had committed.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518. mity to Warham: But one London having profecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and convicted him of malverfation and iniquity, the clamour at laft reached the King's ears, and he expreffed fuch difpleafure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority [l].

1519. WHILE Henry, indulging himfelf in pleafure and amufement, entruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died, a man, who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among chriſtian princes, it put all men's ſpirits into agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the imperial throne; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to put in his pretenſions; but his miniſter, Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all theſe princes were already pre-engaged either on the one ſide or the other.

12th Jan. Death of the emperor Maximilian.

FRANCIS and Charles made profeſſion from the beginning of carrying on this rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; and the other muſt reſt contented [m].

[l] This year and the foregoing the ſweating ſickneſs raged anew in England. It was called *Sudor Anglicus*, becauſe few, except the Engliſh nation, were attacked by it. Its malignity was ſuch, that it commonly killed within three hours of its commencement. Some towns loſt by it an half, others two thirds of their inhabitants.

[m] Belcario, lib. 16, Guicciardin, lib. 13.

But

But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reaſonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to ſharpen the minds of the candidates againſt each other. It was Charles who at laſt prevailed, to the great diſappointment of the French monarch, who ſtill continued to the laſt in the belief, that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was ſome years ſuperior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conqueſt of the Milaneſe, much ſuperior in renown, he could not ſuppreſs his indignation, at being thus, in the face of all mankind, after long and anxious expectation, poſt-poned in ſo important a pretenſion. From this competition, as much as from oppoſition of intereſt, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs, which, while it kept their whole age in agitation, ſets them in ſo remarkable a contraſt to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, induſtrious; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying theſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, cloſe, artificial, frugal; better calculated to obtain ſucceſs in wars and in negotiations, eſpecially the latter. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the greater monarch. The King, from his overſights and indiſcretions, naturally expoſed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his ſpirit and magnanimity, to extricate himſelf from them with honour: The emperor, by his deſigning, intereſted character, fitted, in his greateſt ſucceſſes, to excite jealouſy and oppoſition even among his allies, and to rouze up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had ſubdued. And as the perſonal qualities of theſe princes thus counterpoiſed each other, ſo did the advantages and diſadvantages

CHAP. XXVIII.

1519. Charles, King of Spain, choſen emperor.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1519. of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up of a ſudden ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, of Burgundy: He inherited the conqueſt of Naples, of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the bounds of the globe ſeemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poſſeſs the whole treaſure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But tho' the concurrence of all theſe advantages formed an empire greater and more extenſive than any known in Europe ſince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being cloſe, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interpoſed between all the provinces of Charles's dominions, was able to make a vigorous oppoſition to his progreſs, and maintain the conteſt againſt him.

HENRY poſſeſſed that felicity, of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its ſituation, to hold the balance between thoſe two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this ſingular and ineſtimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater prince than either of thoſe mighty monarchs, who ſeemed to ſtrive for the dominion of Europe. But the character of this King was heedleſs, inconſiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his paſſion or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; ſometimes actuated by friendſhip for foreign powers, oftener by reſentment, ſeldom by his true intereſt. And thus, tho' he triumphed in that ſuperiority which his ſituation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own eſſential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

1520. Interview between Henry

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He ſolicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able,

CHAP. XXVIII.

1520. and Francis at Calais.

able, by familiar converſation, to gain upon his friendſhip and confidence. Wolſey earneſtly ſeconded this propoſal; and hoped, in the preſence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his ſplendour, and his influence over both monarchs [n]. And as Henry himſelf loved pomp and magnificence, and had entertained a curioſity of being perſonally acquainted with the French King, he very chearfully adjuſted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themſelves in large debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain ſplendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, tho' immenſely rich, was ſomewhat addicted to frugality, finding the preparations for this feſtival amount to immenſe ſums, threw out ſome expreſſions of diſpleaſure againſt the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that meaſure [o]. An imprudence which proved afterwards the ſource of great misfortunes to that nobleman.

The emperor Charles arrives in England. 25th of May.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he was ſurprized to hear that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately haſtened thither with the queen, in order to give a ſuitable reception to his royal gueſt. That great prince, politic tho' young, having heard of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and was reſolved to take the opportunity, in his paſſage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the King ſtill a higher compliment, by paying him a viſit in his own dominions. Beſides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he ſtrove, by every teſtimony of friendſhip, by flatteries, proteſtations, promiſes and preſents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He

[n] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

[o] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Herbert, Hollingſhed, p. 855.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1520. here inſtilled into this aſpiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the ſole point of elevation, beyond his preſent greatneſs, it was ſure to attract his wiſhes with the ſame ardour, as if fortune had never, as yet, favoured him with any of her preſents. In hopes of reaching this dignity by the emperor's aſſiſtance, he ſecretly devoted himſelf to that monarch's intereſts; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promiſes, becauſe Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely, that, for many years, he would be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry eaſily obſerved this courtſhip payed to his miniſter; but inſtead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a ſubject of vanity; and believed, that, as Wolſey's ſole ſupport was his favour, the obeiſance of ſuch mighty monarchs to his ſervant, was in reality a more conſpicuous homage to his own grandeur.

30th of May. THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and from thence proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles diſtant; and the two monarchs met, for the firſt time, in the fields, at a place ſituate between theſe two towns, but ſtill within the Engliſh pale: For Francis agreed to pay that compliment to Henry, in conſideration of that prince's paſſing the ſea, that he might be preſent at the interview. Wolſey, to whom both Kings had entruſted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumſtance, in order to do honour to his maſter.

THE two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpoſe, and they held a ſecret conference together. Henry here propoſed to make ſome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry King*; Theſe were the

the firſt words; and he ſtopt a moment. He ſubjoined only the words, *of England*, without adding, *France*, the uſual ſtyle of the Engliſh monarchs [l]. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed by a ſmile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity ſoon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more eſſential nature. That generous prince, full of honour himſelf, and incapable of diſtraſting others, was ſhocked at all the precautions which were obſerved, whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully counted on both ſides: Every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted: And if the two Kings propoſed to pay a viſit to the queens, they departed from their ſeveral quarters at the ſame inſtant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paſſed each other in the middle point between the places; and at the ſame inſtant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. In order to break off this tedious ceromony, which contained ſo many diſhonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guiſnes. The guards were ſurprized at the preſence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my priſoners: Carry me to your maſter.* Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you have here played me the moſt agreeable "trick in the world, and have ſhowed me the full "confidence I may place in you: I ſurrender myſelf "your priſoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15000 angels [m]; and put-

[l] Memoires de Fleuranges.

[m] An angel was then eſtimated at ſeven ſhillings, or near twelve of our preſent money.

ting

CHAP. XXVIII. 1520.

ting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it, for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was double in value to the collar[n]. The King went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully eſtabliſhed between the monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time entirely in tournaments and feſtivals.

A DEFIANCE had been ſent by the two Kings to each others court, and thro' all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy, to anſwer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tourney, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were gorgiouſly apparelled; and were both of them the moſt comely perſonages of their age, as well as the moſt expert in every military exerciſe. They carried away the prize at all trials in thoſe rough and dangerous paſtimes; and ſeveral horſes and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he here feaſted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an Engliſh archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæreo præſt*; *He prevails whom I favour*[o]: Expreſſing his own ſituation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In theſe entertainments, more than in any ſerious buſi-

24th June. neſs, did the two Kings paſs their time, till their departure.

[n] Memoires de Fleuranges. [o] Mezeray.

HENRY,

CHAP. XXVIII.

1520.

HENRY, after his return to Calais, paid a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and paſs ſome days in that fortreſs. The artful and politic Charles here compleated the impreſſion, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip, to which the frank and liberal nature of Francis had given birth. As the houſe of Auſtria began ſenſibly to take the aſcendant over the French monarchy, the intereſts of England required that ſome ſupport ſhould be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars ſhould be prevented, which might beſtow on either of them a deciſive ſuperiority over the other. But the jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt France has ever prevented a cordial union between theſe nations: And Charles, ſenſible of this hereditary animoſity, and deſirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer, (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur) that he ſhould be entire arbiter in any diſpute or difference that ſhould ariſe between the monarchs. But the great maſterpiece of Charles's politics was the ſecuring Wolſey in his intereſts, by very important ſervices, and ſtill higher promiſes. He renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues, belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Palencia in Caſtile. The acquiſitions of Wolſey were now become ſo exorbitant, that, joined to the penſions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poſſeſs, his revenues were computed nearly to equal thoſe which belonged to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave general offence to the people; and much leſſened his maſter in the eyes of all foreign nations[p].

[p] Polydore Virgil. Hall.

THE

CHAP. XXVIII.

1521. War between Charles and Francis.

THE violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy which had taken place between the emperor and the French King, ſoon broke out in action. Francis ſent an army into Navarre under the command of De Foix, in order to replace the family of Albert in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom; and this enterprize could not have been complained of as a breach of treaty, if De Foix had confined himſelf to that equitable deſign. But after he had ſubdued Navarre, finding Spain in great diſorder from the inſurrections of the people, he thought the opportunity favourable, and he ventured, with Francis's approbation, to lay ſiege to Logrogno in Caſtile. This invaſion, contrary to what was expected, put an end to the domeſtic diſſentions of the Caſtilians; who attacked the French, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, purſued the advantage, and entirely expelled them Navarre, which has ever ſince remained united with the Spaniſh monarchy[q]. Robert de la Marck, duke of Boüillon and prince of Sedan, having received ſome diſguſt from the governeſs of the Low Countries, had taken arms and invaded thoſe provinces; and had even ſent a challenge or defiance to the emperor himſelf[r]: A boldneſs, which ſeemed entirely unaccountable, except on the ſuppoſition that this petty prince had received ſecret encouragement from Francis. On the other hand, Charles, in order to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Robert, had levied a powerful army, and advanced to the frontiers of France, which he threatened with an invaſion. Hoſtilities were ſoon carried farther; his generals beſieged Mouſon, which they took; they inveſted Mezieres, where they met with a repulſe. In Italy likewiſe the two monarchs were not inactive. Francis negotiated with the Pope, in order to engage him to concur in expelling the Imperi-

[q] Vera, hiſt. de Charl. V. [r] Memoires de Bellay, lib. 1.

aliſts

CHAP. XXVIII.

1521.

aliſts from Naples: But Charles had the addreſs to finiſh his league with the ſame power for expelling the French from Milan; and the united arms of the allies had invaded that dutchy, and had almoſt entirely finiſhed their enterprize.

WHILE theſe ambitious and warlike princes were committing hoſtilities on each other in every part of Europe, they ſtill made profeſſions of the ſtrongeſt deſire of peace; and both of them carried inceſſantly their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The King, who appeared neutral, engaged them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolſey and the pope's nuntio. The emperor was well acquainted with the partiality of theſe mediators; and his demands in the conference were ſo unreaſonable, as plainly proved him conſcious of this advantage. He required the reſtitution of Burgundy, a province, which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which would have given him acceſs into the midſt of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage, which his anceſtors had ever paid for Flanders and Artois, and which he himſelf had, by the treaty of Noyon, promiſed to renew. On Francis's rejecting theſe terms, the congreſs at Calais broke up, and Wolſey, ſoon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the ſame ſtate, magnificence, and reſpect, as if he had been the King of England himſelf; and he concluded in his maſter's name an offenſive alliance with the pope and the emperor againſt France. He engaged that England ſhould next ſummer invade that kingdom with forty thouſand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princeſs Mary, the King's only child, who had now ſome proſpect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance,

Mediation of Henry.

24th of November.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1521.

alliance, which was prejudicial to the intereſts, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the reſult of the humours and prejudices of the King, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

THE people ſaw every day new inſtances of the uncontrouled authority of this miniſter. The duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had been ſo unfortunate as to give diſguſt to the cardinal, and it was not long before he found reaſon to repent his indiſcretion. He ſeems to have been a man full of levity and raſh projects; and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he entertained commerce with one Hopkins, a carthuſian monk, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Gloceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward the third; and tho' his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been ſo imprudent as to let fall ſome expreſſions, as if he thought himſelf beſt intitled, in caſe the King ſhould die without iſſue, to poſſeſs the royal dignity. He had not even abſtained from threats againſt the King's life, and had provided himſelf of arms, which he intended to employ, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict againſt Buckingham, which was ſoon after put in execution. There is no reaſon to think the ſentence unjuſt[s]; but as Buckingham's crime ſeemed to proceed more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, the people, who

Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

[s] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingſhed, p. 862.

loved

loved that nobleman, expected that the King would grant him a pardon, and ascribed their disappointment to the malice and revenge of the cardinal. The King's own jealousy, however, against all pretenders to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which Buckingham inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived by Henry.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1521.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.——Origin of the reformation.——Martin Luther.——Henry receives the title of defender of the faith.——Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation.——War with France.——Invaſion of France.——War with Scotland.——A Parliament.——Invaſion of France.——Italian wars.——The King of France invades Italy.——Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis.——Francis recovers his liberty.——Sack of Rome.——League with France.

CHAP. XXIX.

1521. DURING ſome years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with thoſe religious controverſies, which produced the reformation, one of the greateſt events in hiſtory: But as it was not till this time, that the King of England publickly took part in the quarrel, we had no occaſion to give any account of its riſe and progreſs. It will now be neceſſary to explain theſe theological diſputes; or what is more material, to trace from their origin thoſe abuſes, which ſo generally diffuſed the opinion, that a reformation of the church or eccleſiaſtical order was become highly expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary. We ſhall be better enabled to comprehend the ſubject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reaſons, why there muſt be an eccleſiaſtical order, and a public eſtabliſhment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the preſent occaſion will, I hope, excuſe this ſhort digreſſion.

Most

CHAP. XXIX.

1521.

Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

MOST of the arts and profeſſions in a ſtate are of ſuch a nature, that, while they promote the intereſts of the ſociety, they are alſo uſeful or agreeable to ſome individuals; and in that caſe, the conſtant rule of the magiſtrate, except, perhaps, on the firſt introduction of any art, is, to leave the profeſſion to itſelf, and truſt its encouragement to the individuals who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to riſe by the favour of their cuſtomers, encreaſe, as much as poſſible, their ſkill and induſtry; and as matters are not diſturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always ſure to be at all times exactly proportioned to the demand.

BUT there are alſo ſome callings, which, tho' uſeful and even neceſſary in a ſtate, bring no advantage nor pleaſure to any individuals; and the ſupreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of thoſe profeſſions. It muſt give them public encouragement in order to their ſubſiſtance; and it muſt provide againſt that negligence, to which they will naturally be ſubject, either by annexing particular honours to the profeſſion, by eſtabliſhing a long ſubordination of ranks and a ſtrict dependance, or by ſome other expedient. The perſons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magiſtracy are inſtances of this order of men.

IT may naturally be thought, at firſt view, that the eccleſiaſtics belong to the firſt claſs, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and phyſicians, may ſafely be truſted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or conſolation from their ſpiritual miniſtry and aſſiſtance. Their induſtry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by ſuch an additional motive; and their ſkill in the profeſſion, as well as their addreſs in governing the minds

CHAP. XXIX.

of the people, muſt receive daily encreaſe, from their encreaſing practice, ſtudy, and attention.

1521. But if we conſider the matter more cloſely, we ſhall find, that this intereſted diligence of the clergy is what every wiſe legiſlator will ſtudy to prevent; becauſe in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infuſing into it a ſtrong mixture of ſuperſtition, folly, and deluſion. Each ghoſtly practitioner, in order to render himſelf more precious and ſacred in the eyes of his retainers, muſt inſpire them with the moſt violent abhorrence againſt all other ſects, and continually endeavour, by ſome novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted, that beſt ſuits the diſorderly affections of the human frame. Cuſtomers will be drawn to each conventicle by new induſtry and addreſs in practiſing on the paſſions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magiſtrate will find, that he has paid dearly for his pretended frugality, in ſaving a ſettled foundation for the prieſts; and that in reality the moſt decent and advantageous compoſition, which he can make with the ſpiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by affixing ſtated ſalaries to their profeſſion, and rendering it ſuperfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to preſerve their flock from ſtraying in queſt of new paſtures. And in this manner eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, tho' commonly they aroſe at firſt from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political intereſts of ſociety.

But we may obſerve, that few eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments have been fixed upon a worſe foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circum-

circumſtances more hurtful to the peace and happineſs of mankind. CHAP. XXIX.

THE large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magiſtrate, and armed with too extenſive authority an order of men, who always adhere cloſely together, and who never want a plauſible pretence for their encroachments and uſurpations. The higher dignities of the church ſerved, indeed, to the ſupport of gentry and nobility; but by the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries, many of the loweſt vulgar were taken from the uſeful arts, and maintained in thoſe receptacles of ſloth and ignorance. The ſupreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, who was guided by intereſts, always different, ſometimes contrary to thoſe of the community. And as the hierarchy was neceſſarily ſolicitous to preſerve an unity of faith, rites and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifeſt riſque of being extinguiſhed; and violent perſecutions, or what was worſe, a ſtupid and abject credulity, took place every where. 1521.

To encreaſe theſe evils, the church, tho' ſhe poſſeſſed large revenues, was not contented with her acquiſitions, but retained a power of practiſing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even beſtowed on each individual prieſt a power of enriching himſelf by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him ſtill a powerful motive for diligence and induſtry in his calling. And thus, that church, tho' an expenſive and burthenſome eſtabliſhment, was liable to many of the inconveniences, which belong to an order of prieſts, truſted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a ſubſiſtence.

THE advantages, attending the Romiſh hierarchy, were but a ſmall compenſation for its inconveniences. The eccleſiaſtical privileges, during barbarous times, had ſerved as a cheque to the deſpotiſm of Kings. The

CHAP. XXIX.

1521.

union of all the weſtern churches under the ſupreme pontiff facilitated the intercourſe of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a cloſe connection with each other. And the pomp and ſplendour of worſhip, which belonged to ſo opulent an eſtabliſhment, contributed, in ſome reſpects, to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuſe a general elegance of taſte, by uniting it with religion.

It will eaſily be conceived, that, tho' the ballance of evil prevailed in the Romiſh church, this was not the chief reaſon, which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muſt have contributed to forward that great work.

Origin of the reformation.

Pope Leo the tenth, by his generous and enterprizing temper, had very much exhauſted his treaſury, and was obliged to make uſe of every invention, which might yield money, in order to ſupport his projects, pleaſures, and liberalities. The ſcheme of ſelling indulgences was ſuggeſted to him, as an expedient which had often ſerved in former times to draw money from the chriſtian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was ſuppoſed, was poſſeſſed of a great ſtock of merit, as being intitled to all the good works of the ſaints, beyond what were employed in their own juſtification; and even to the merits of Chriſt himſelf, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhauſted treaſury, the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoſes, the reſiſting the Turk, or ſubduing ſchiſmatics. When the money came into his treaſury, the greateſt part of it was uſually diverted to other purpoſes[a].

[a] Father Paul and Sleidan.

It

CHAP. XXIX.

1521.

It is commonly believed, that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and fallacy of the doctrines, which, as ſupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereſt to promote: And it is the leſs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit thoſe pious frauds, which his predeceſſors, the moſt ignorant and credulous, had always, under plauſible pretences, made uſe of for their ſelfiſh purpoſes. He publiſhed the ſale of a general indulgence[b]; and as his expences had not only exhauſted his uſual revenue, but even anticipated the income of this extraordinary expedient, the ſeveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perſons, who were entitled to levy the impoſition. The produce particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic was aſſigned to his ſiſter, Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent the eighth; and ſhe, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoeſe, now a biſhop, formerly a merchant, who ſtill retained all the lucrative arts of his former profeſſion[c]. The Auſtin friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing, leſt practice might have taught them means to ſecrete the money[d], and expecting no extraordinary ſucceſs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Theſe monks, in order to prove themſelves worthy of the diſtinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefit of indulgences by the moſt unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, tho' not more ridiculous than thoſe already received, were ſuch as the ears of the people were not yet fully accuſtomed to. To add to the ſcandal, the collectors

[b] In 1517. [c] Father Paul, Sleidan. [d] Father Paul, lib. 1.

CHAP. XXIX.

1521. of this revenue are ſaid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have ſpent in taverns, gaming houſes, and places ſtill more infamous, the money, which devout perſons had ſaved from their uſual expences, in order to purchaſe a remiſſion of their ſins[e].

Martin Luther.

All theſe circumſtances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not ariſen a man, qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Auſtin friar, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, reſenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach againſt theſe abuſes in the ſale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and being provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themſelves; and was thence carried, by the heat of diſpute, to queſtion the authority of the pope, from which his adverſaries derived their chief arguments againſt him[f]. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport theſe tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, diſcourſes, ſermons, conferences; and daily encreaſed the number of his diſciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, rouſed from that lethargy, in which they had ſo long ſlept, began to call in queſtion the moſt antient and moſt received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal juriſdiction: The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many ſovereigns of the empire, and the imperial diet itſelf, ſhowed a favourable diſpoſition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from

[e] Father Paul, lib. 1. [f] Father Paul, Sleidan.

promiſes

promiſes of advancement, or terrors of ſeverity, to relinquiſh a ſect, of which he was himſelf the founder, and which brought him a glory, ſuperior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes. CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

THE rumour of theſe innovations ſoon reached England; and as there ſtill ſubſiſted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whoſe principles reſembled thoſe of Luther, the new doctrines gained ſecretly many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. Henry had been educated in a ſtrict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice againſt Luther, who, in his writings, ſpoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the King's favourite author: He oppoſed himſelf therefore to the progreſs of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extenſive and almoſt abſolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not uſually employed by monarchs, eſpecially thoſe in the flower of their age, and force of their paſſions. He wrote a book in Latin againſt the principles of Luther; a performance, which, if allowance be made for the ſubject and the age, does no diſcredit to his capacity. He ſent a copy of it to Leo, who received ſo magnificent a preſent with great teſtimony of regard; and conferred on him, the title of *defender of the faith*; an appellation ſtill retained by the Kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverſy, ſoon wrote an anſwer to Henry; and without regard to the dignity of his antagoniſt, treated him with all the acrimony of ſtyle, to which, in the courſe of his polemics, he had ſo long been accuſtomed. The King, by this ill uſage, was ſtill more prejudiced againſt the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were

Henry receives the title of defender of the faith.

CHAP. XXIX.

1521.

inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the diſpute[g]. And as the controverſy became more illuſtrious, by Henry's entering the liſts, it drew ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe.

Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation.

THE quick and ſurprizing progreſs of this bold ſect may juſtly in part be aſcribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reaſon bore any conſiderable part, in opening men's eyes with regard to the impoſtures of the Romiſh church: For of all branches of literature, philoſophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the moſt inconſiderable progreſs; neither is there any inſtance where argument has been able to free the people from that enormous load of abſurdity, with which ſuperſtition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence, with which it was embraced, prove ſufficiently, that it owed not its ſucceſs to reaſon and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progreſs in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his ſectaries, full of vehemence, declamation and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, ſomewhat awakened from a profound ſleep of ſo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and ſcrupled leſs to tread in any unuſual path, which was opened to them. And as copies of the Scriptures and other antient monuments of the chriſtian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations, which were introduced after the firſt centuries; and though argument and reaſoning could not give conviction, an hiſtorical fact, well ſupported, was able to make impreſſion on their underſtandings. Many of the

[g] Father Paul, lib. 1.

powers,

powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very antient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time could render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity. CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors, as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions, which, however applied, were to be found in Scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition against the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions, with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and extacy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments, with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

CHAP. XXIX.

1521. THAT the civil power, however, might afford them protection againſt the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable, in ſome reſpects, to the temporal authority of ſovereigns. They inveighed againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally diſcontented; and exhorted princes to reinſtate themſelves in thoſe powers, of which the encroaching ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics, and eſpecially of the ſovereign pontiff, had ſo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monaſtic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to thoſe who were either tired of the obedience and chaſtity, or diſguſted with the licence, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the exceſſive riches, the idleneſs, the libertiniſm of the clergy; and pointed out their treaſures and revenues as lawful ſpoil to the firſt invader. And as the eccleſiaſtics had hitherto conducted a willing and a ſtupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controverſy, much more with every ſpecies of true literature; they were unable to defend themſelves againſt men, armed with authorities, citations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages, with which the reformers began their attack of the Roman hierarchy; and ſuch were the cauſes of their rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

1ſt December. LEO the tenth, whoſe overſights and too ſupine truſt in the profound ignorance of the people, had given riſe to this ſect, but whoſe ſound judgment, moderation and temper, were well qualified to retard its progreſs, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the King's book againſt Luther; and he was ſucceeded in the papal chair, by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners,

manners, by which he was diſtinguiſhed; but, ſo violent were their prejudices againſt the church, he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues. He frankly confeſſed, that many abominable and deteſtable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this ſincere avowal, he gave occaſion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff alſo, whoſe penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was ſeduced to concur in that league, which Charles and Henry had formed againſt France[h]; and he thereby augmented the ſcandal, occaſioned by the practice of ſo many preceding popes, who ſtill made their ſpiritual arms ſubſervient to political purpoſes. CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

THE emperor, Charles, who knew, that Wolſey had received a diſappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was ſolicitous to repair the breach made in their friendſhip by this incident. He paid a new viſit to England; and beſides flattering the vanity of the King and the cardinal, he repeated to Wolſey all the promiſes, which he had made him, of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. Wolſey, ſenſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promiſed a ſudden vacancy, diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous iſſue of the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which ſome articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the King and Wolſey for the revenues which they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at 1522. 26th May.

[h] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

South-

CHAP. XXIX. 1522.

Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults which had ariſen in his abſence[i].

War with France.

THE King declared war againſt France; and this meaſure was founded on ſo little reaſon, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refuſal to ſubmit to his arbitration, and his ſending Albany into Scotland. This laſt ſtep had not been taken by the French King, till he was quite aſſured of Henry's reſolution to attack him. Surrey landed ſome troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waſte the country, he ſailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The Engliſh merchants had great property in that place, which was no more ſpared by the ſoldiers, than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and ſailed to Calais, where he took the command of the Engliſh army, deſtined for the invaſion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries under the command of the count de Buren, conſiſted in the whole of 18,000 men.

Invaſion of France.

THE French had made it a maxim in all their wars with the Engliſh, ſince the reign of Charles the fifth, never, without great neceſſity, to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wiſe policy. He ſupplied the towns moſt expoſed, eſpecially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with ſtrong garriſons and plenty of proviſions: He himſelf took poſt at Abbeville, with ſome Swiſs and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guiſe encamped under Montreuil with ſix thouſand men. Theſe two bodies were in a ſituation to join upon occaſion; to throw ſuccour

[i] Petrus de Angleria, epiſt. 765.

into

into any town, that was threatened; and to harraſs the Engliſh in every movement. Surrey, who was not ſupplied with magazines, firſt divided his army for the convenience of ſubſiſting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together the forces, and laid ſiege to Hedin. But neither did he ſucceed in this enterprize. The garriſon made vigorous ſallies upon his army: The French forces aſſaulted them from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw his ſoldiers into dyſenteries: And Surrey was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois; and five or ſix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him maſter of one place within the French frontier. CHAP. XXIX. 1522.

THE allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loſt a bloody battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not ſupplying Lautrec with money [k], was followed by the loſs of Genoa. The caſtle of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs in Italy, which remained in the hands of the French.

EUROPE was now in ſuch a ſituation, and ſo connected by alliances and intereſt, that it was almoſt impoſſible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuſe itſelf thro' the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the cloſeſt was that which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and Scotland; and the Engliſh, while at war with the former nation, could not expect to remain long unmoleſted on the northern frontier. No ſooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took meaſures for kindling a war with England; and he ſum- War with Scotland.

[k] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

moned

CHAP. XXIX.

moned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roſline [a]. He thence conducted the army ſouthwards into Annandale; and prepared to paſs the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were diſguſted with the regent's adminiſtration; and obſerving, that his connexions with his native country were very feeble in compariſon of thoſe with France, they murmured, that for the ſake of foreign intereſts, their peace ſhould be ſo often diſturbed, and war, during their King's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, ſo much ſuperior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refuſed to advance any farther; and Albany, obſerving a general diſcontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the Engliſh weſt marches. Soon after, he departed for France; and leſt the oppoſite faction ſhould gather force in his abſence, he ſent thither before him the earl of Angus, huſband to the queen dowager.

1522.

1523. NEXT year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's abſence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merſe and Teviotdale without oppoſition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither King nor Regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner baniſhed: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to aſſume the government: And the Engliſh monarch, who knew the diſtreſt ſituation of the country, determined to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the ſenſe of their preſent miſeries, to make a ſolemn renounciation of the French alliance, and embrace that of England [b]. He even gave them hopes of contracting a

[a] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Piſcottie.
[b] Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert.

marriage

marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient, which would for ever unite the two kingdoms [c]: And the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with England. They ſaid, that the intereſts of Scotland had too long been ſacrificed to thoſe of the French nation, who, whenever they found themſelves reduced to difficulties, called for the aſſiſtance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them, ſo ſoon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That where a ſmall ſtate entered into ſo cloſe a confederacy with a greater, it muſt always expect this treatment, as a conſequence of the unequal alliance; but that there were peculiar circumſtances in the ſituation of the kingdoms, which, in the preſent caſe, rendered it inevitable: That France was ſo diſtant and ſo divided from them by ſeas, that ſhe ſcarce could by any means, and never could in time, ſend ſuccours to the Scots, ſufficient to protect them againſt ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had, in a manner, framed an alliance between the two Britiſh nations; having encloſed them in the ſame iſland; given them the ſame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that, if national antipathies were aboliſhed, which would ſoon be the effect of peace, theſe two kingdoms, ſecured by the ocean and by their domeſtic force, could ſet at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever ſecure and unmoleſted.

CHAP. XXIX. 1523.

The partizans of the French alliance ſaid, on the other hand, that the very reaſons, which were urged in favour of a league with England, the cloſe neighbourhood of the kingdom and its ſuperior force, were the

[c] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

real

CHAP. XXIX.

1523. real cauſes, why a ſincere and durable confederacy could never be framed with that hoſtile nation: That among neighbouring ſtates, occaſions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful people would be ſure to ſeize every frivolous pretence for oppreſſing the weaker, and reducing them to ſubjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almoſt perpetual between them, it was the intereſt of the Scots, if they wiſhed to maintain their independancy, to preſerve their league with the former kingdom, which ballanced the force of the latter: That if they deſerted that old and ſalutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their antient enemies, ſtimulated both by intereſt and by paſſion, would ſoon invade them with ſuperior force, and reduce them to ſubjection: Or if they delayed the attack, the inſidious peace, by making the Scots loſe the uſe of arms, would only prepare the way for a ſlavery more certain and more irretrieveable [d].

THE arguments employed by the French party, being ſeconded by the natural prejudices of the people, ſeemed rather to prevail: And when the regent himſelf, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the terror of the Engliſh fleet, at laſt appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that ſide. By the authority of the convention of ſtates, he aſſembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the Engliſh in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them ſouthwards towards the borders. But when they were paſſing the Tweed at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party were again able to raiſe ſuch oppoſition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards, along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp op-

[d] Buchanan, lib. 14.

poſite

CHAP. XXIX.

1523.

posite to Werk-Castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege that fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks: But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scots nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not, during several years, in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The reason, why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England was the want of money. All Henry the seventh's treasures were long since dissipated; the King's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary support of his government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue [e]; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued out privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums; and this act of power, tho' somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by the Kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry carried his authority much farther on this occasion. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound from the clergy, two shillings from the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the King's imposing taxes without consent of Parliament.

[e] Herbert. Stowe, 514.

CHAP. XXIX.

1523. 15th April, A Parliament.

HENRY ſummoned a Parliament this year, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a diſpoſition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted, how far they would carry their liberality to the King. Wolſey, who had undertaken the management of this affair, began with the convocation; in hopes, that their example would influence the Parliament to grant a large ſupply. He demanded a moiety of their eccleſiaſtical revenues to be levied in five years, or two ſhillings in the pound during that time, and tho' he met with oppoſition, he reprimanded ſo ſeverely the refractory members, that his requeſt was at laſt complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and prelates, came to the houſe of commons; and in a long and elaborate ſpeech laid before them the public neceſſities, the dangers of an invaſion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the King was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a ſum, computed from the late ſurvey or valuation, to be equivalent to four ſhillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one ſhilling in the pound yearly, according to the diviſion propoſed. So large a grant was unuſual from the commons; and tho' the cardinal's demand was ſeconded by Sir Thomas More the ſpeaker, and ſeveral other members attached to the court, the houſe could not be prevailed with to comply [f]. They only voted two ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year and upwards, one ſhilling on all between twenty pounds and forty ſhillings a year; and on all the reſt of the ſubjects above ſixteen years of age a groat a-head. This laſt ſum was divided into two yearly payments; the former

[f] Herbert. Stowe, 518. Parliamentary Hiſtory. Strype, vol. i. p. 49, 50.

into

into four yearly payments, and was not therefore at the outmoſt above ſix-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the ſum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the diſappointment, came again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to comply with the King's requeſt. He was told, that it was a rule of the houſe never to reaſon but among themſelves; and his deſire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an impoſition of three ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of fifty pounds a year, and upwards [g]. The proceedings of this houſe of commons diſcover evidently the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refuſed a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreaſonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to paſs uncenſured, tho' its direct tendency was to ſubvert entirely the liberties of the people. The King was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving diſpoſition of the commons, that, as he had not called a Parliament during ſeven years before, he allowed ſeven more to elapſe, be-

CHAP. XXIX. 1523.

[g] It is ſaid, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required ſupply, he was ſo provoked, that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a conſiderable influence on the houſe; and he being introduced to his majeſty, had the mortification to hear him ſpeak in theſe words: *Ho! man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: *Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow, or elſe to-morrow this head of yours ſhall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry ſucceeded: For next day the bill was paſſed. *Collins's Britiſh Peerage. Grove's life of Wolſey.* We are told by *Hall*, fol. 38. That cardinal Wolſey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better, that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the King at this time ſhould lack; and therefore beware and reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe, for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads.* Such was the ſtyle employed by this King and his miniſters.

CHAP. XXIX.

1523.

fore he ſummoned another. And on pretence of neceſſity, he levied, in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years [h]; a new invaſion of national privileges. Theſe irregularities were commonly aſcribed to the cardinal's counſels, who, truſting to the protection, afforded him by his eccleſiaſtical character, was leſs ſcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new diſappointment in his aſpiring views. The pope, Adrian the ſixth, died; and Clement the ſeventh, of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolſey began now to perceive the inſincerity of the emperor, and concluded that that prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. This injury was highly reſented by the cardinal; and he began thenceforth to eſtrange himſelf from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French King. Meanwhile, he diſſembled his reſentment; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers, which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life; and by this unuſual conceſſion, he in a manner tranſferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In ſome particulars, Wolſey made a good uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity: He ſought, all over Europe, for learned men to ſupply the chairs of theſe colleges: And in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome ſmaller monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the leſs difficult for him, becauſe

[h] Speed. Hall. Herbert.

the

the Romiſh church began to perceive, that ſhe over- CHAP. XXIX.
abounded in monks, and that ſhe wanted ſome ſupply of
learning, in order to oppoſe the inquiſitive, or rather diſ- 1523.
putative, humour of the new reformers.

THE confederacy againſt France ſeemed more formidable than ever, on the opening of this campaign [1]. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to deſert the French alliance, and to form engagements for the ſecuring Sforza in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the ſame meaſure. The emperor in perſon menaced France with a powerful invaſion on the ſide of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands ſeemed ready to break into Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all theſe perils from foreign enemies were leſs threatening than a domeſtic conſpiracy, which had been forming, and which was now come to full maturity againſt the French monarch.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining merit; and, beſide diſtinguiſhing himſelf in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accompliſhment, which became a perſon of his high ſtation. His virtues, embelliſhed with the graces of youth, had made ſuch impreſſion on Louiſe of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, ſhe made him propoſals of marriage; and meeting with a refuſal, ſhe formed ſchemes of unrelenting vengeance againſt him. She was a woman, falſe, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had by her capacity, which was conſiderable, acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon. By her in-

[1] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

CHAP. XXIX.

1523.

ſtigation, Francis put many affronts on the conſtable, which it was difficult for a gallant ſpirit to endure; and at laſt he permitted Louiſe to proſecute a lawſuit againſt him, by which, on the moſt frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

BOURBON, provoked at all theſe indignities, and thinking, that, if any injuries could juſtify a man in rebelling againſt his prince and country, he muſt ſtand acquitted, had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the King of England [k]. Francis, pertinacious in his deſign of recovering the Milaneſe, had propoſed to lead his army in perſon into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned ſickneſs, in order to have a pretence for ſtaying behind, intended, ſo ſoon as the King had paſſed the Alps, to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaſſals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his deſign; but not being prompt enough in ſecuring ſo dangerous a foe, the conſtable made his eſcape [l]; and putting himſelf in the emperor's ſervice, did all the injuries to his native country, which his enterprizing ſpirit and his great talents for war enabled him to perform. Charles profeſſed ſuch regard for him, that he promiſed him his ſiſter in marriage, Eleonora, widow to Emanuel, King of Portugal; and when the conſtable came to Madrid, ſome time after, the emperor received him with all the demonſtrations of friendſhip. He ſaid to a Spaniſh grandee, that he muſt deſire him, while Bourbon reſided in that city, to allow him to take up his reſidence in his houſe, as moſt ſuitable to his rank and quality. The nobleman replied, with a Caſtilian dignity, that his majeſty's deſire was to him a

[k] Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2. [l] Belcarius, lib. 17.

ſufficient

sufficient reason; but he must tell him beforehand, that so soon as Bourbon departed, he would raze to the ground the house which had been polluted by the presence of such a traitor [m]. CHAP. XXIX. 1523.

The King of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended with the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen [n]. 24th Aug.

Invasion of France.

The English army, reinforced by some troops, drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more adviseable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided of troops; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town, which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over the Somme. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed determined to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and put him to route. They next advanced to Mont-

[m] Guicciardini. [n] Herbert.

CHAP. XXIX.

1523.

didier, which they beſieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no oppoſition, they proceeded to the river Oiſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great conſternation; till the duke of Vendôme haſtened with ſome forces to its relief. The confederates, then, afraid of being ſurrounded, and reduced to extremities during ſo advanced a ſeaſon, thought proper to retire. Montdidier was abandoned: And the Engliſh and Flemings went each into their own country.

FRANCE defended herſelf from the other invaſions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thouſand Lanſquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furſtenberg. The count of Guiſe, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppoſe to them but ſome militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garriſon-towns; and with his cavalry, he kept the field, and ſo harraſſed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guiſe attacked them as they paſſed the Meuſe, put them into diſorder, and cut off the greateſt part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the ſide of Navarre; and, tho' that frontier was well guarded by nature, it ſeemed now expoſed to great danger from this powerful invaſion which threatened it. Charles beſieged Fontarabia, which had fallen a few years before into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he raiſed the ſiege of a ſudden, and ſat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that ſtratagem, made a ſudden march and threw himſelf into Bayonne, which he defended with ſuch vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this ſide, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, ſat down, in

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the winter ſeaſon, before that city, well fortified and ſtrongly garriſoned. The cowardice or miſconduct of the governor ſaved him the ſhame of a new diſappointment. The place was ſurrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finiſhed this enterprize, put his troops into winter quarters. CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

So obſtinate was Francis in proſecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithſtanding theſe dangerous invaſions, with which his kingdom was menaced on every ſide, he had determined to lead in perſon a powerful army to the conqueſt of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's revolt and eſcape ſtopped him at Lyons; and fearing ſome inſurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man ſo powerful and ſo beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France; and to ſend forward his army, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purpoſely left in a condition ſomewhat defenceleſs, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it; and no ſooner had Bonnivet paſſed the Teſin, than the army of the league, and even Proſper Colonna, who commanded it, a very prudent general, were in the utmoſt confuſion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without reſiſtance: But as he waſted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garriſon, and to put the place in a poſture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took poſſeſſion of all the poſts, which commanded the paſſages to it. But the army of the league, mean-while, was not inactive; and they ſo ſtraitened and harraſſed the quarters of the French, that it ſeemed more likely the latter would themſelves periſh by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickneſs and fatigue and want had waſted them to ſuch a degree, Italian wars. 1524.

CHAP. XXIX.

1524.

degree, that they were ready to raiſe the blockade; and their only hopes conſiſted in a great body of Swiſs, which was levied for the ſervice of the French King, and whoſe arrival was every day expected.

THE Swiſs had in that age ſo great a ſuperiority in the field above almoſt every other nation, and had been ſo much courted by all the great potentates of Europe, that they were become extremely capricious and haughty, and thought that the fate of kingdoms depended entirely on their aſſiſtance or oppoſition. Francis had promiſed to this body of mercenaries, whom he had hired to join Bonnivet, that ſo ſoon as they arrived in the plains of Piedmont, the duke of Longueville ſhould join them with four hundred lances, and conduct them to the French camp: But by ſome accident Longueville's march had been retarded, and the Swiſs had been obliged to march, without the honour of being eſcorted by him. Offended at this neglect, as they interpreted it, they no ſooner came within ſight of the French camp, than they ſtopped, and inſtead of joining Bonnivet, they ſent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then ſerved under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company [o].

AFTER this deſertion of the Swiſs, Bonnivet had no other choice, but that of making his retreat, as faſt as poſſible, into France. He accordingly put himſelf in motion for that purpoſe; but the allies, who foreſaw this meaſure, were ready to fall upon his rear. The French army, however, after a ſharp action, made good their retreat, though not without conſiderable loſs both in officers and private men. Among the reſt, fell in this action the brave chevalier Bayard, eſteemed in that age the model of ſoldiers and men of honour, and de-

[o] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

nominated

nominated the *knight without fear and without reproach.* When this gallant gentleman felt his wounds to be mortal, and could no longer ſupport himſelf on horſeback, he ordered his attendants to ſet him under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that poſture. The generals of the allies, and among the reſt the duke of Bourbon, came about him, and expreſſed their concern for his preſent condition. "Pity "not me," cried he to Bourbon; "I die in the diſ- "charge of my duty: They alone are the objects of "pity, who fight againſt their prince and country [p]."

THE French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were ſatisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were reſolved to proſecute their victory no farther. All theſe powers, eſpecially Clement, had entertained a violent jealouſy of the emperor's ambition; and their jealouſy was extremely augmented, when they ſaw him refuſe the inveſtiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whoſe title he had acknowledged, and whoſe defence he had embraced [q]. They all concluded, that he intended to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to ſubjection: Clement in particular, actuated by this jealouſy, proceeded ſo far in oppoſition to the emperor, that he ſent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolſey, diſguſted with the emperor, but ſtill more actuated by vain-glory, was determined, that he himſelf ſhould have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the King to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invaſion of France. Charles ſtipu-

[p] Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 152.

[q] Guicciardini, lib. 15.

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CHAP. XXIX.

1524.

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[p] Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 152.

[q] Guicciardini, lib. 15.

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CHAP. XXIX. 1524.

lated to ſupply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month; after which, he might either chuſe to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of King; but to hold them in fief of Henry as King of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

THIS chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article, which was moſt eaſily performed: Bourbon refuſed to acknowledge Henry as King of France. His enterprize, however, againſt Provence ſtill took place. A numerous army of Imperialiſts invaded that country under his command and that of the marquis of Peſcara. They laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which, being weakly garriſoned, they expected to carry in a little time: But the burgeſſes defended themſelves with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that Bourbon and Peſcara, who heard of the French King's approach with a numerous army, found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; and they led their forces, much weakened, baffled, and diſheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed in ſafety the glory of repulſing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made of breaking into his kingdom: But as he received intelligence, that the King of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterprizes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for the invaſion of Picardy, his antient ardour ſeized him for the conqueſt of Milan; and, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, to lead his army into Italy.

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CHAP. XXIX.

1524. The King of France invades Italy.

He paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no ſooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the whole Milaneſe into conſternation. There was no army in the field able to oppoſe him; and Milan itſelf, though affectionate to its duke, was not in the ſame poſture of defence as laſt year, when blockaded by admiral Bonnivet. It was almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants: Great numbers had died of the plague; and the reſt had fled into the country for ſafety. Francis immediately marched to that city, which opened its gates to receive him. The forces of the emperor and Sforza fled to Lodi; and had Francis been ſo fortunate as to purſue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally diſſipated[a]. But his ill fate led him to beſiege Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, well-garriſoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every attempt, which the French King made to gain this important place, proved fruitleſs. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were inſtantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the courſe of the Teſin, which ran by one ſide of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river deſtroyed in one night all the mounds which the ſoldiers, during a long time, and with infinite pains, had been erecting. Fatigue and the bad ſeaſon (for it was now the depth of winter) had waſted the French army. And the more to diminiſh its force, Francis, at the pope's ſolicitation, who now declared, almoſt openly, for him, had detached a conſiderable body, under the duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples. The imperial generals mean while were not idle. Peſcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, gathered forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels for money, went into

1525.

[a] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

Germany,

CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

Germany, and by his perſonal intereſt, levied twelve thouſand Lanſquenets, with which he joined the imperialiſts. This army was advancing to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

THE ſtate of Europe was ſuch, during that age, that, partly from the want of commerce and induſtry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extenſive privileges ſtill poſſeſſed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the ſmall armies, which they kept on foot, could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Peſcara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thouſand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invaſion of France, either on the ſide of Spain or Flanders.) Yet ſo poor was that mighty monarch, that he could tranſmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of ſharing the plunder of the French camp, which had made them advance, and kept them to their ſtandards. Had Francis raiſed the ſiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they muſt immediately have diſperſed themſelves; and he had obtained a complete victory, without danger or bloodſhed. But it was the character of this monarch, to become obſtinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once ſaid, that he would take Pavia or periſh before it, he was reſolved rather to endure the utmoſt extremities than depart from this reſolution.

25th February. Battle of Pavia, and captivity of Francis.

THE imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for ſeveral days, at laſt gave a general aſſault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva ſallied from the town, and threw the beſiegers into ſtill greater confuſion.

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The Swiſs infantry, contrary to their uſual practice, behaved in a daſtardly manner, and deſerted their poſt. Francis's whole army was put to rout; and he himſelf, ſurrounded by his enemies, after fighting with the moſt heroic valour, and killing ſeven men with his own hand, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. Almoſt the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either periſhed by the ſword, or were drowned in the river. The few, who eſcaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy. The imperial generals had ſo little authority over their own troops, even after this ſignal victory, that Lannoy, apprehenſive leſt the Lanſquenets ſhould ſeize Francis as ſecurity for the pay due to them, immediately removed him from the camp, and ſent him to Pizzighitone. And taking advantage of the terrors, which had ſeized the pope, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, and other Italian ſtates, he obliged them, though ſecretly enemies, to advance money for the ſubſiſtence of his army. CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

The emperor received this news by Pennaloſa, who paſſed through France, by means of a ſafe-conduct, which he received from the captive King. The moderation, which he diſplayed on this occaſion, had it been ſincere, would have done him great honour. Inſtead of rejoicing, he expreſſed ſympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and diſcovered his ſenſe of thoſe calamities, to which the greateſt monarchs are expoſed [b]. He refuſed the city of Madrid permiſſion to make any public expreſſions of triumph; and ſaid that he reſerved all his exultation till he ſhould be able to obtain ſome victory over the infidels. He ſent orders to his frontier garriſons to commit no hoſtilities upon France. He ſpoke of concluding immediately a peace on reaſonable terms. But all this ſeeming equity was only hypocriſy, ſo much the

[b] Vera. hiſt. de Charl. V.

more

CHAP. XXIX.

1525. more dangerous, as it was profound. And his ſole occupation was the forming ſchemes, how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmoſt advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition, by which, in all his actions, he was wholly governed.

The ſame Pennaloſa, in paſſing through France, carried alſo a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then reſided at Lyons. It contained only theſe few words, *Madam, all is loſt, except our honour.* The princeſs was ſtruck with the greatneſs of the calamity. She ſaw the kingdom without a ſovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; ſurrounded on every hand by implacable and victorious enemies: And her ſole reſource, in her preſent diſtreſſes, were the hopes, which ſhe entertained, of peace and even of aſſiſtance from the King of England.

Had the King entered into the war againſt France from any concerted political views, it is evident, that the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, were the moſt fortunate incidents which could have befallen him, and the only ones which could render his ſchemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any deciſive advantage, he might have been able to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome frontier towns, or perhaps of a ſmall territory, which he could not keep poſſeſſion of, without expending much more than its value. By ſome great calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of conſiderable provinces, or diſmember that mighty monarchy, ſo affectionate to its own government and its own ſovereigns. But as it is probable, that Henry had never before carried his reflections ſo far; he was ſtartled at this important event, and became ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the great power of Charles.

Inſtead

CHAP. XXIX.

1525. Henry embraces the alliance of France.

Inſtead of taking advantage, therefore, of the diſtreſſed condition of France, he was determined to lend her his aſſiſtance in her preſent calamities; and as the glory of generoſity, in raiſing a fallen enemy, concurred with his political intereſts, he heſitated the leſs in embracing theſe new meaſures.

Some diſguſts alſo had previouſly taken place between Charles and Henry, and ſtill more between Charles and Wolſey; and that powerful miniſter waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the diſappointments, which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occaſion to revive the King's jealouſy and ſuſpicions of his ally. The emperor ſupported ſo ill the appearance of moderation, which he at firſt aſſumed, that he had already changed his uſual ſtile to Henry; and inſtead of writing to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribing himſelf *your affectionate ſon and couſin*; he dictated his letters to his ſecretary, and ſimply ſubſcribed himſelf *Charles* [c]. Wolſey alſo perceived a diminution in the careſſes and profeſſions, with which the emperor's letters to him were uſually loaded; and this laſt imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of ſucceſs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's intereſts than the other.

Henry, though determined to embrace new meaſures, was careful to ſave appearances in the change; and he cauſed rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London [d]: But upon the regent of France's ſubmiſſive applications to him, he again opened a correſpondence

[c] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

[d] Du Bellay, liv. iii. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

CHAP. XXIX.

1525.

with her; and beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe, that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering any province of the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required, that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded the payment of large ſums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew, that the emperor was in no ſituation of executing either of theſe conditions; and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

TONSTAL likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter, that Charles, on his part, wanted not complaints againſt England; and in particular was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations; that, inſtead of expreſſing his intentions to eſpouſe Mary, when ſhe ſhould be marriageable, he had hearkened to propoſals, for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs, with which fortune had crowned his arms.

30th Auguſt.

THE King, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded at Moore his alliance with the regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty on reaſonable conditions[e];

[e] Du Tillet, Recueil des Traites de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

The

CHAP. XXIX.

1525.

The regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom to be Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns: After which, Henry was to receive during his own life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. Notwithſtanding his generoſity, he could not forbear taking advantage of the calamitous ſituation of France, in order to exact this lucrative condition from her. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay.

Diſcontents of the Engliſh.

MEANWHILE, as Henry foreſaw, that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, he was alſo determined to fill his treaſury by impoſitions upon his own ſubjects; and as the parliament had diſcovered ſome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed the advice of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued out commiſſions to all the counties of England, for levying four ſhillings in the pound from the clergy, three ſhillings and four pence from the laity; and ſo uncontroulable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the ſlender pretence of a loan. But he ſoon found, that he had preſumed too far on the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The people, diſpleaſed with an exaction beyond what was uſually levied in thoſe days, but ſtill more diſguſted with the illegal method of impoſing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, oppoſition to the commiſſioners; and their refractory diſpoſition even threatened a general inſurrection. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort, in that dangerous path, into which he had entered. He ſent letters to all the counties;

CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

declaring, that he meant no force by this laſt impoſition, and that he would take nothing of his ſubjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himſelf, that his condeſcenſion in employing that diſguiſe would ſatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himſelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refuſing any payment required of him in this manner. But the ſpirit of oppoſition was once rouſed, and could not ſo eaſily be quieted at pleaſure. A lawyer in the city objecting the ſtatute of Richard the third, by which benevolences were for ever aboliſhed, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an uſurper, and his parliaments factious aſſemblies, his ſtatutes could not bind a lawful and *abſolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace[f]. The judges even went ſo far as to affirm poſitively, that the King might exact by commiſſion any ſum which he pleaſed; and the privy council gave a ready aſſent to this decree, which annihilated the moſt valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with ſuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolſey ſent for the mayor of London, and deſired to know what he was willing to give for the ſupply of his majeſty's neceſſities. The mayor ſeemed deſirous, before he ſhould declare himſelf, to conſult the common council; but the cardinal required, that he and all the aldermen ſhould ſeparately confer with himſelf about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed oppoſition. Matters, however, went not ſo ſmoothly in the country. An inſurrection was begun in ſome places; but as the people were not headed by any conſiderable perſon, it was eaſy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perſuaſion

[f] Herbert. Hall.

and

and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The King, finding it dangerous to puniſh criminals, engaged in ſo popular a cauſe, was determined, notwithſtanding his violent, imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he very prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were brought before the ſtar-chamber; where, after a ſevere charge laid againſt them by the King's council, the cardinal ſaid, "That, notwithſtanding their grievous offences, the King, in "conſideration of their neceſſities, had granted them "his gracious pardon, upon condition, that they would "give in ſureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying, that they had no ſureties, the cardinal firſt, and after him the duke of Norfolk, ſaid, that they would ſtand bound for them. Upon which they were diſcharged [g].

CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

THESE arbitrary impoſitions, being generally imputed to the cardinal's counſels, increaſed the general odium, under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon, being aſcribed to the King, was conſidered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the meaſure. But Wolſey, ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without ſcruple, to violate all eccleſiaſtical privileges, which, during that age, were much more ſacred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unuſual attempt of ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, he kept all the reſt in awe, and exerciſed over them the moſt arbitrary juriſdiction. By his commiſſion as legate, he was impowered to viſit them, and reform them, and chaſtiſe their irregularities; and he employed his uſual agent, Allen, in the exerciſe of this authority. The

[g] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 525. Hollingſhed, p. 891.

CHAP. XXIX. 1525.

religious houſes were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by giving large ſums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppreſſion was carried ſo far, that it reached at laſt the King's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints againſt his favourite. He reproved Wolſey in ſevere terms, which rendered him, if not more innocent, at leaſt more cautious for the future. That haughty miniſter had built a ſplendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Weſtminſter, for his own uſe; but fearing the increaſe of envy on account of this magnificence, and deſirous to appeaſe the King, he made him a preſent of that building, and told him, that, from the firſt, he had erected it for his ſervice.

THE abſolute authority, poſſeſſed by the King, rendered his domeſtic government, both over his people and his miniſters, eaſy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to ſuch a ſituation, that it was no longer ſafe for England to be entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of very ſhort date; and it was ſoon obvious to all the world, that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extenſive. The terms, propoſed by him to his priſoner, were ſuch as muſt have for ever annihilated the power of France, and deſtroyed the balance of Europe. He required, that that monarch ſhould reſtore to him the dutchy of Burgundy, uſurped, as he pretended, by Lewis the eleventh upon his anceſtors; that he ſhould yield Provence and Dauphiny to the duke of Bourbon, to be poſſeſſed by him in full ſovereignty, without fief or homage to the crown of France; that he ſhould ſatisfy the King of England with regard to the provinces, which that prince claimed as his inheritance; and that he

ſhould

ſhould renounce all title to Naples, Milan, Genoa, or any territory in Italy[h].

1525.

THESE demands were propoſed to Francis, ſoon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzighitone; and as he had hitherto truſted ſomewhat to the emperor's generoſity, the diſappointment excited in his breaſt the moſt lively indignation. He ſaid, that he would rather live and die a priſoner than agree to diſmember his kingdom; and that, even were he ſo baſe as to ſubmit to ſuch terms, his ſubjects would never permit him to carry them into execution. The offers which he made for obtaining his liberty, were, that he would renounce all claims in Italy, that he would aſſiſt the emperor in recovering the territories uſurped upon the empire by the Venetians, that he would relinquiſh the homage due by the emperor for Artois and Flanders, that he would marry Eleonora, the emperor's ſiſter, (for he was now a widower) and acknowledge the dutchy of Burgundy to be poſſeſſed as her dowry; and to be inherited by her children[i].

FRANCIS was encouraged to perſiſt in theſe efforts, by the favourable accounts, which he heard of Henry's diſpoſitions towards him, and of the alarms which had ſeized all the chief powers in Italy, upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneaſy, however, to be ſo far diſtant from the emperor with whom he muſt treat; and he deſired to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a perſonal interview would operate much in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his miniſters, might be found poſſeſſed of the ſame frankneſs of diſpoſition, by which he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed. He was ſoon convinced of his miſtake. The emperor, under pretence of an aſſembly of the ſtates at Toledo, kept, during ſome

Francis removed to Madrid.

[h] Guicciardini, lib. 16. [i] De Vera hiſt. de Charles V.

CHAP. XXIX.

1525. time, at a distance from him; and even after they broke up, delayed his visit to the captive King; feigning a delicacy in that particular, as if his company, in the present situation of affairs, before any terms were agreed on, would be regarded as an insult upon the royal prisoner. Francis, partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, fell into a languishing illness; which begot apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages, which he proposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis was laid, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, "Sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother, and my friend, "who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his affliction with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the King daily recovered [k]; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor, the terms of this treaty.

WHILE this negociation advanced slowly, fortune threw into the emperor's hands a new opportunity of aggrandizing his dominions in Italy. Francis Sforza, impatient that his investiture of Milan should so long be delayed, and that even after it was granted, it should be encumbered with many exorbitant conditions, had endeavoured to seduce Pescara, the imperial general, from his fidelity, and to engage him in a conspiracy against his master. Pescara feigned to enter into the design; but having revealed the whole contrivance, he received orders to take possession of the Milanese; and Charles made no secret of his intention to try Sforza and forfeit his fief, on account of the treason, which he had com-

[k] Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

mitted

mitted againſt his liege-lord and ſovereign[1]. This incident retained the Italian powers in cloſer union with France; and the emperor, by graſping too much, found himſelf in danger of loſing all his advantages. His apprehenſions were encreaſed, when he heard, that Francis had ſent a reſignation of his crown to the regent, and had deſired that the dauphin might be crowned King; orders, which, though they were not obeyed, ſhewed his determined reſolution never to ſubmit to the unreaſonable terms required of him. The chief difficulty of the treaty was now reduced to the dutchy of Burgundy; and even that territory, Francis had agreed to yield, but he ſtill inſiſted on firſt recovering his liberty. All mutual confidence was loſt between the two princes; and each feared, leſt advantage ſhould be taken of his ſimplicity, ſhould he firſt execute his part of the treaty. 1525.

At laſt the emperor was willing to relax of his rigour in this particular; and the treaty of Madrid was ſigned, by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to the differences between theſe great monarchs. The principal condition was the reſtoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages to the emperor for the reſtitution of Burgundy: If any difficulty ſhould afterwards occur in the execution of this article, with regard to Burgundy, from the oppoſition of the ſtates, either of France or of that province, Francis ſtipulated, that in ſix weeks time, he ſhould return to his priſon, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them rigorous and ſevere to the laſt degree againſt the captive monarch; and Charles diſcovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to ſubjection and dependance. 1526. 14 January.

[1] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

Many

CHAP. XXIX.

1526.

MANY of Charles's miniſters foreſaw, that Francis, however ſolemn the oaths, promiſes, and proteſtations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty, which was ſo diſadvantageous, or rather ruinous and deſtructive, to himſelf, his poſterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By ſacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himſelf of all foreign aſſiſtance; and arming his oppreſſor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him abſolutely irreſiſtable. To theſe great views of intereſt, were added the motives, no leſs cogent, of paſſion and reſentment; while Francis, a prince, who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom. It was alſo foreſeen, that the emulation and rivalſhip, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two monarchs, would make him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance on yielding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt, who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had ſhown himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage, which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His miniſters, his friends, his ſubjects, his allies, with one voice, would be ſure to ſuggeſt to him, that the firſt object of a prince, was the preſervation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be abſolutely ſupreme, and ſuperior to all intereſts, were with a ſovereign ſubordinate to the great duty of enſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined, that Francis would be ſo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a caſuiſtry, which was ſo plauſible in itſelf, and which ſo much flattered all the paſſions, by which, both as a prince and a man, he was ſtrongly actuated.

SUCH

CHAP. XXIX.

1526.

SUCH was the reaſoning of ſeveral of Charles's miniſters, particularly of Gattinara, his chancellor[m], who counſelled him to treat Francis with more generoſity, and to give him his liberty on ſuch terms, as would engage him, not by the feeble band of treaties, but by the more forcible tye of honour, to a ſtrict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wiſer and more honourable council; at the ſame time, that the proſpect of a general combination of Europe hindered him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confuſions, which his abſence muſt neceſſarily occaſion in his kingdom. Still ſuſpicious, however, of the ſincerity of his priſoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of aſking him, privately and as a friend, whether he ſeriouſly intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; proteſting, that, in all caſes, he was firmly determined to reſtore him to his liberty, and that the proſpect of obtaining this advantage needed no longer engage him to diſſemble. Francis was too well acquainted with Charles's character to truſt to the ſincerity of this proteſtation; and therefore renewed his aſſurances of fidelity, and a ſtrict obſervance of his word. The emperor replied, that Francis was now his beſt friend and ally; but if he ſhould afterwards break his engagements, which he could not ſuſpect, he ſhould think himſelf entitled to reproach him with a conduct ſo baſe and unworthy: And on theſe terms the two monarchs parted.

18th March. Francis recovers his liberty.

FRANCIS, on entering into his own dominions, delivered his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand over his head, and cried aloud ſeveral times, *I am yet a*

[m] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

King,

CHAP. XXIX.

King. He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry; acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and proteſting, that he ſhould be entirely governed by his councils in all tranſactions with the emperor. When the Spaniſh envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he waved the propoſal; under colour, that it was neceſſary to aſſemble previouſly the States both of France and of Burgundy, and obtain their conſent. The States of Burgundy ſoon met; and declaring againſt the clauſe, which contained an engagement of alienating their province, they expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The imperial miniſter then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of compliance, made public the treaty, which, a little before, he had ſecretly concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor [n].

1526.

22d May.

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to the reſolutions, which Francis ſhould take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who ſuſpected, that that prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independancy, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpence; but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated, by that King, the pope, the

[n] Guicciardini, lib. 17.

Venetians,

Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther conditions or incumbrances. The King of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but alſo as protector of the holy league, ſo it was called: And if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed, that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices, which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats. CHAP. XXIX. 1526.

FRANCIS was extremely deſirous, that the appearance of this great confederacy ſhould engage the emperor to relax ſomewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained theſe hopes, he was the more remiſs in his warlike preparations, nor did he ſend in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the inveſtiture; and having levied a conſiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the leſs ſo, becauſe Charles, deſtitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent thoſe mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto reſtrained, he led them to Rome, and promiſed to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himſelf killed, as he was planting a ladder to ſcale the walls; but his ſoldiers, rather enraged than diſcouraged by his death, mounted 1527. 6th May.

CHAP. XXIX.

1527. Sack of Rome.

to the aſſault with the utmoſt valour, and entering the city, ſword in hand, exerciſed all thoſe brutalities, which may be expected from ferocity excited by reſiſtance, and from inſolence which takes place when that reſiſtance is no more. This renowned city, expoſed by her renown alone to ſo many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom ſhe was often ſubdued, ſuch indignities as ſhe was now conſtrained to ſuffer. The unreſtrained maſſacre and pillage, which continued for ſeveral days, were the leaſt ills, to which the unhappy Romans were expoſed [o]. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty or ſacred in religion ſeemed but the more to provoke the inſults of the ſoldiery. Virgins ſuffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon thoſe very altars, to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced each moment with the moſt cruel death, in order to engage them to reveal their ſecret treaſures, or purchaſe liberty by exorbitant ranſoms. Clement himſelf, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, and neglected to make his eſcape in time, was taken captive, and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, did but draw on him the inſolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleaſed to gratify their animoſity by the abaſement of the ſovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocriſy, expreſſed the moſt profound ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms: He put himſelf and all his court into mourning: He ſtopped the rejoicings for the birth

[o] Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

of

of his ſon Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however groſs, is able, when ſeconded by authority, to impoſe upon the people, he ordered prayers, during ſeveral months, to be put up in all the churches for the Pope's liberty; an event, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured. CHAP. XXIX. 1527.

THE concern, expreſſed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally, was much more ſincere. Theſe two monarchs, a few days before the ſack of Rome, had concluded a treaty [p] at Weſtminſter, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the French princes, and to repay the money, borrowed of Henry; and in caſe of refuſal, the ambaſſadors, attended with heralds, were ordered to denounce war againſt him. This war, it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thouſand infantry and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated, that either Francis or his ſon, the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for the reſtoring his libert,. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſeas, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence, with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended with a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of 29th May. 11th July.

[p] 30th April.

Lorraine,

CHAP. XXIX.

1527. Lorraine, and the chancellor Alançon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place, where he came, liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their dominions, each by his own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legatine power extended into France, and even into Germany; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was obliged, tho' with great reluctance, to deſiſt from theſe ambitious enterprizes [q].

28th Sept. THE more to cement the union between theſe princes, a new treaty was, ſome time after, concluded at London; in which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France; claims, which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often ſerved as a pretence for exciting the unwary Engliſh to wage war upon the French monarchy. As a return for this conceſſion, Francis bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay for ever fifty thouſand crowns a year to Henry and his ſucceſſors; and that a greater ſolemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the Parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms ſhould give their conſent to it. The mareſchal Montmorency, accompanied with many perſons of diſtinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was ſent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade, which ſuited the ſolemnity of the occaſion. The terror of the emperor's greatneſs had entirely extinguiſhed the antient animoſity between

League with France.

[q] Burnet, book 3. coll. 12, 13.

the

the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, tho' a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

CHAP. XXIX. 1527.

THIS appearance of a cordial union between France and England, tho' it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that ambitious monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their recovery of liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the dutchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove by single combat, that that monarch had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but tho' both the princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, disputed zealously which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and sincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to that cruel situation, that nothing but the breach of his word could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able

CHAP. XXIX. 1527.

to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with this infidelity by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But tho' this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate conſequences with regard to theſe monarchs themſelves, it produced a conſiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the antient barbarous juriſprudence, which was ſtill preſerved on very ſolemn occaſions, and which was even countenanced by the civil magiſtrate, began thenceforth to prevail on the moſt trivial occaſions; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themſelves entitled, or even required in honour, to take private revenges on their enemies, by vindicating their right in ſingle combat. Theſe abſurd, tho' generous maxims, ſhed much of the beſt blood in chriſtendom during more than two centuries; and notwithſtanding the ſeverity of law, ſuch is the prevailing force of cuſtom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Scruples concerning the King's marriage.——The King enters into theſe ſcruples.——Anne Boleyn.——Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.——The pope favourable.——The emperor threatens him.——The pope's ambiguous conduct.——The cauſe evoked to Rome.——Wolſey's fall.——Commencement of the reformation in England.——Foreign affairs.——Wolſey's death.——A Parliament.——Progreſs of the reformation.——A Parliament.——King's final breach with Rome.——A Parliament.

CHAP. XXX.

1527.

Scruples concerning the King's marriage.

NOtwithſtanding the ſubmiſſive deference, paid to the papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paſſed, without much ſcruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent againſt a conjugal union between ſuch near relations; and the late King, tho' he had ſolemnized the eſpouſals, when his ſon was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling them [a]. He ordered the young prince, ſo ſoon as he came of age, to enter a proteſtation againſt the marriage [b]; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his laſt injunction, not to finiſh an alliance, ſo unuſual and expoſed to ſuch inſuperable objections. After the King's acceſſion, ſome members of the Privy Council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared againſt the reſolution, of compleating the

[a] Moriſon's Apomaxis, p. 13.

[b] Moriſon, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2.

CHAP. XXX. 1527.

marriage; and tho' Henry's youth and diſſipation kept him, during ſome time, from entertaining any ſcruples with regard to the meaſure which he had embraced, there happened incidents, ſufficient to rouze his attention, and to inform him of the ſentiments, generally entertained on that ſubject. The ſtates of Caſtile had oppoſed the emperor Charles's eſpouſals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and among other objections, had inſiſted on the illegitimate birth of the young princeſs [c]. And when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe, the French ambaſſador, revived the ſame objection [d]. But tho' theſe events naturally raiſed ſome doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other cauſes, which tended much to fortify his remorſe, and render his conſcience more ſcrupulous.

The King enters into theſe ſcruples.

THE queen was older than the King by no leſs than ſix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed, notwithſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to render her perſon unacceptable to him. Tho' ſhe had borne him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune, becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is the very threatening, contained in the Moſaical law againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The King was actuated by a ſtrong deſire of having male iſſue: With a view to that end, it is believed, more than from deſire towards other gratification, he had, a few years before this period, made addreſſes to a young lady, Catherine, daughter of Sir John Blount; and when ſhe

[c] Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolſey.

[d] Rymer, vol. xiv. 192, 203. Heylin, p. 31.

bore

bore him a ſon, he expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction, and immediately created him duke of Richmond. The ſucceſſion of the crown too was a conſideration, that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was queſtioned; and it was apprehended, that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the King of Scots, the next heir, would certainly advance his own pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulſions, ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event, which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the King was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

CHAP. XXX. 1527.

HENRY afterwards affirmed, that his ſcruples of conſcience aroſe entirely from private reflection; and that on conſulting his confeſſor, the biſhop of Lincoln, he found that prelate poſſeſſed with the ſame doubts and difficulties. The King himſelf, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, proceeded then to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and having had recourſe to Thomas of Aquine, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor, whoſe authority was great in the church and abſolute with him, had treated of that very caſe, and had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages [e]. The prohibitions, ſaid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and tho' the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them.

[e] Burnet, Fiddes.

CHAP. XXX.

1527. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was next applied to; and he was required to conſult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, declared unanimouſly, under their hand and ſeal, that they deemed the King's marriage unlawful [f]. Wolſey alſo fortified the King's ſcruples [g], partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew, partly deſirous of connecting the King more cloſely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutcheſs of Alençon, ſiſter to that monarch; and perhaps too ſomewhat diſguſted with the queen herſelf, who had reproved him for certain freedoms, unbefitting his character and ſtation [h]. But Henry was carried forward, tho' perhaps not at firſt excited, by a motive more forcible than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been created maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being ſeen by the King, and of converſing with him, ſhe had acquired an entire aſcendant over his affections. This young lady, whoſe grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her ſo celebrated, was daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the King in ſeveral embaſſies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility of the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had eſpouſed one of the daughters and co-heirs of the lord Haſtings [i]. Anne herſelf, tho' then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the King's ſiſter, when ſhe eſpouſed Lewis the twelfth of France;

[f] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.

[g] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46, 166, 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

[i] Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

and

and upon the deceaſe of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, Anne, whoſe accompliſhments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the ſervice of Claude, queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and after her death, ſhe paſſed into the family of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a princeſs of ſingular merit. The exact time, when ſhe returned to England, is not certainly known; but it was after the King had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited, which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the viſits, which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind nowiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion after any other manner. And as every motive of inclination and policy, ſeemed thus to concur in making the King deſirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make applications to Clement, and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXX. 1527.

Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.

THAT he might not ſhock the haughty claims of the pontiff, it was reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts of the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of conſanguinity; but only to inſiſt on particular grounds of invalidity in the bull, which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that, if the pope be ſurprized into any conceſſion, or grant any

CHAP. XXX.

1527.

indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed, wherever one pope had recalled any deed, executed by any of his predeceſſors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded plentiful matter of this kind; and any tribunal, favourable to Henry, needed not want a ſpecious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was ſaid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſolicitation; tho' it was known, that, at that time, he was below twelve years of age: It was alſo affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite, in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; tho' it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull, ſeemed to afford Clement a ſufficient reaſon or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage [k].

The pope favourable.

But tho' the pretext for this indulgence had been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſuch a ſituation, that he had the ſtrongeſt motive to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, unleſs by the efforts of the league, which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppoſe the exorbitant ambition of Charles. When the Engliſh Secretary, therefore, made private applications to him, he received a very favourable anſwer; and a diſpenſation was forthwith promiſed to be expedited to his maſter [l]. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the imperialiſts to give Clement his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where

[k] Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 9.

[l] Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

the

the secretary, with Sir Gregory Cassali, the King's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They found him still full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the King; but not so expeditious in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise of the pope, to take no steps in that affair before he communicated them to the imperial ministers; and Clement, confined by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a *commission* to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the King's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation [m]: He also granted them a provisional *dispensation* for the King's marriage with any other person; and promised to expedite a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences, which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independance. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time of opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings, after they were passed, as previously to render them valid, by his consent and authority [n].

CHAP. XXX. 1527.

[m] Rymer, vol. xiv. 237. [n] Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

WHEN

CHAP. XXX. 1528.

WHEN Henry received the commiſſion and diſpenſation from his ambaſſadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole matter before his miniſters, and aſked their opinion in ſo delicate a ſituation. The Engliſh counſellors conſidered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuſe to confirm a deed, which he might juſtly call precipitate and irregular, and ſhould he diſavow the advice which he gave in ſo clandeſtine a manner, the King would find his ſecond marriage totally invalidated; any children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever [o]. And Henry's apprehenſions of the poſſibility, or even probability, of ſuch an event, were much confirmed, when he reflected on the character and ſituation of the ſovereign pontiff.

CLEMENT the ſeventh was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely ſubject, allowed him to make full uſe of thoſe talents, and that penetration, with which he was endowed [p]. The captivity, and other misfortunes, which he had undergone, by entering into a league againſt Charles, had ſo affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himſelf with vigour in any public meaſures, eſpecially if the intereſts or inclinations of that potentate ſtood in oppoſition to him. The imperial forces were, at preſent, powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was ſtill defenceleſs, and expoſed to the ſame calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And beſides theſe dangers, Clement found or fancied himſelf expoſed to perils, which threatned, ſtill more immediately, his perſon and dignity.

[o] Burnet, vol. i. p. 51.

[p] Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

CHARLES,

CHARLES, apprized of the timid diſpoſition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of ſummoning a general council; which he repreſented was neceſſary to reform the church, and correct thoſe enormous abuſes, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration. The power of Clement himſelf, he ſaid, the ſovereign pontiff, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might juſtly be brought in queſtion. That pope had always paſſed for the natural ſon of Julian of Medicis, who was of the ſovereign family of Florence; and tho' Leo the tenth, his couſin, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promiſe of marriage between his father and mother, few perſons believed that declaration to be founded on any juſt reaſon or authority [q]. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely ſilent with regard to the promotion of baſtards to the papal throne; but, what was ſtill dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepoſſeſſion, that that ſtain in the birth of any perſon was ſufficient to incapacitate him for ſo holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was expreſs and poſitive, that no man, guilty of ſimony, could attain that dignity. A ſevere bull of Julius the ſecond had added new ſanctions to this law, by declaring, that a ſimoniacal election ſhould not be rendered valid, even by a poſterior conſent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promiſes of advancing that cardinal, in caſe he himſelf ſhould attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependance on the emperor, threatened every moment to expoſe to public view [r].

CHAP. XXX.

1528.

The emperor threatens him.

[q] Father Paul, lib. 1. [r] Ibid.

CHAP. XXX.

1528. WHILE Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes, which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the former democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event, which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effectuate this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconcilement with that monarch [s].

THESE views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor was foreseen to Henry's divorce, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine, his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour contained always so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the King's
7th Feb. almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to

[s] Father Paul.

solicit

CHAP. XXX. 1528.

ſolicit a commiſſion from the pope, of ſuch a nature as would oblige him to confirm the ſentence of the commiſſioners, whatever it was, and diſable him, on any account, to recall the commiſſion, or evoke the cauſe to Rome [t].

The pope's ambiguous conduct.

But the ſame reaſon which made the King ſo deſirous of obtaining this conceſſion, confirmed the pope in the reſolution of refuſing it: He was ſtill determined to keep the door open to an agreement with the emperor, and made no ſcruple of ſacrificing all other conſiderations to a point which he deemed, of all others, the moſt important to his own ſecurity, and to that of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolſey, for the trial of the King's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to inſert the clauſes deſired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hands a letter, promiſing not to recall the preſent commiſſion; this promiſe was found, on examination, to be couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, as left him ſtill the power, whenever he pleaſed, of departing from it [u].

Campeggio lay under ſome obligations to the King; but his dependance on the pope was ſo much greater, that he conformed himſelf entirely to the views of his holineſs; and tho' he received his commiſſion in April, he protracted his departure by ſo many artificial delays, that it was October before he arrived in England. The firſt ſtep which he took, was to exhort the King to deſiſt from the proſecution of his divorce; and finding that this counſel gave great offence, he ſaid, that his intention was alſo to exhort the queen to enter into a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previouſly to attempt an amicable compoſure of all differences [w]. The more to

[t] Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. N°. 23, 24, &c.

[u] Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59. [w] Herbert, p. 225.

pacify

CHAP. XXX.

pacify the King, he ſhewed to him, as alſo to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage
1528. with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail with him to make any other of the King's council privy to the ſecret [x]. In order to atone, in ſome degree, for this obſtinacy, he expreſſed to the King and the cardinal, the pope's great deſire of ſatisfying them in every reaſonable demand; and in particular, he ſhowed, that their requeſt for ſuppreſſing ſome more monaſtries, and converting them into cathedrals and biſhops ſees, had obtained the conſent of his holineſs [y].

THESE ambiguous circumſtances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in ſuſpence, and determined the King to wait with patience
1529. the iſſue of ſuch uncertain councils. Fortune meanwhile ſeemed to promiſe him a more ſure and expeditious way of extricating himſelf from his preſent difficulties. Clement was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs; and the intrigues for electing his ſucceſſor, began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolſey, in particular, ſupported by the intereſt of England and France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter [z]; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that ſummit of his ambition. But the pope recovered his health, tho' after ſeveral relapſes; and he returned to the ſame train of falſe and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amuſed the Engliſh court. He ſtill flattered Henry with profeſſions of the moſt cordial attachment, and promiſed him a ſudden and favourable iſſue of his proceſs: He ſtill continued his ſecret negociations with Charles, and perſevered in the reſolution of ſacrificing all his promiſes, and all the intereſts of the Romiſh religion, to the elevation of his

[x] Burnet, p. 58. [y] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. Appen. N° 28. [z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

family.

family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artificial delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

THE emperor, acquainted with the King's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined, that he should obtain success by no other means but by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the King's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone, she thought, she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recall of the commission, which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England, a fundamental article [a].

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the King and Queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the King answered to his name, when called: But the Queen, in- 31 May. Trial of the King's marriage.

[a] Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

stead

CHAP. XXX.

1529.

ſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the King's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him, that ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without aſſiſtance; expoſed to all the injuſtice, which her enemies were pleaſed to impoſe upon her: That ſhe had quitted her native country without other reſource, than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected, that, inſtead of ſuffering thence any violence or iniquity, ſhe was aſſured in them of a ſafeguard againſt every misfortune: That ſhe had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himſelf, whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity: That ſhe was conſcious—he himſelf was aſſured—that her virgin honour was yet unſtained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connections with his brother had been carried no further than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the Kings of England and Spain, were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the beſt advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now repreſented as ſo criminal and unnatural: And that ſhe acquieſced in their judgment, and would not ſubmit her cauſe to be tried by a court, whoſe dependance on her enemies was too viſible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial deciſion [b]. Having ſpoken theſe words, ſhe roſe, and making the King a low reverence, ſhe departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

AFTER her departure, the King did her the juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affec-

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall, Stowe, p. 543.

tionate

tionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour. He only inſiſted on his own ſcruples, with regard to the lawfulneſs of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progreſs, and the foundation of thoſe doubts, by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolſey of having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he begged a ſentence of the court, conformable to the juſtice of his cauſe. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

THE legates, after citing the queen anew to appear before them, declared her *contumacious*, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The firſt point which came before them, was, the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it muſt be confeſſed, that no ſtronger arguments could reaſonably be expected of ſuch a fact after ſo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paſſed his fifteenth year, the good ſtate of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his ſpouſe, many of his expreſſions to that very purpoſe; all theſe circumſtances form a violent preſumption, in favour of the King's aſſertion [c]. Henry himſelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed for ſome time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spaniſh ambaſſador, in order the better to enſure poſſeſſion of her jointure, had ſent over to Spain, proofs of the conſummation of her marriage [d]: Julius's bull itſelf was founded on the ſuppoſition, that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princeſs: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the conſummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both ſides [e]. Theſe particulars were all laid before

[c] Herbert. [d] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.
[e] Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

CHAP. XXX. 1529.

the court; accompanied with many reaſonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and his power of granting a diſpenſation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard theſe doctrines with great impatience; and notwithſtanding his reſolution to protract the cauſe, he was often tempted to interrupt and ſilence the King's council, when they inſiſted on ſuch diſagreeable topics. The trial was ſpun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolſey, tho' the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as preſident of the court; becauſe it was thought, that a trial, managed by an Italian cardinal, would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the King's own miniſter and favourite had preſided in it. The buſineſs now ſeemed to be drawing near to a period; and the King was every day in expectation of a ſentence in his favour; when, to his great ſurprize, Campeggio, on a ſudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences [f], prorogued the court, till the firſt of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of ſucceſs, which the King had ſo long and ſo anxiouſly cheriſhed [g].

The cauſe evoked to Rome.

DURING the time, that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had by his miniſters earneſtly ſolicited Clement to evoke the cauſe to Rome; and had employed every topic of hope or terror, which could operate either on the paſſion or timidity of the pontiff. The Engliſh ambaſſadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no leſs earneſt in their applications, that the legates ſhould be allowed to finiſh the trial; but, tho' they employed the ſame engines of promiſes and menaces, the objects, which they could ſet before the pope, were not ſo inſtant nor immediate as

[f] Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77. [g] Herbert, p. 254.

thoſe

those which were held up to him by the emperor [h]. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his own personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medici to their dominion in Florence. So soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, he said, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he evoked the cause to Rome. The legate, Campeggio, had beforehand received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull, with which he was entrusted. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

WOLSEY had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his own ruin. Tho' he had at first desired, that the King should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to an happy issue [i]: He was not therefore to be blamed for the unprosperous event, which the pope's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or distinction, to make his ministers answerable for the issue of those transactions, with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed, from a regard to decency, during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry's mind, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal [k]. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolsey by the part

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 75. [i] Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53. [k] Cavendish, p. 49.

CHAP. XXX.

1529. which he had openly acted, had expreſſed the higheſt animoſity againſt him; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty miniſter. The high opinion itſelf, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to haſten his downfal; while he imputed the bad ſucceſs of that miniſter's undertakings, not to ill fortune or to miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inſtantly on his head. The King, who probably could not juſtify by any good reaſon his alienation from his antient favourite, ſeems to have remained ſome time in ſuſpence; and he received him, if not with all his former kindneſs, at leaſt with the appearance of truſt and regard.

Wolſey's fall.

But it is found almoſt impoſſible for a high confidence and affection to receive the leaſt diminution, without ſinking into abſolute indifference, or even running into the oppoſite extreme of hatred and averſion. The King now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almoſt as precipitate as he had formerly em-

18th Oct. ployed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require the great ſeal from him; and on his ſcrupling to deliver it [1], without a more expreſs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was ſurrendered, and was delivered by the King to Sir Thomas More, a man, who, beſides the ornaments of an elegant literature, poſſeſſed the higheſt virtue, integrity and capacity.

WOLSEY was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, tho' it really belonged to the ſee of York, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the Kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were converted to the King's uſe. Their riches

[1] Cavendiſh, p. 41.

and

and ſplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of ſilver: He had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold: There were found a thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. All the reſt of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no ſmall inducement to this violent perſecution againſt him. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Aſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-Court. The world, who had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him, on this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes. He himſelf was much dejected with the change; and from the ſame turn of mind, which had made him be ſo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the blow of adverſity with double rigour [m]. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to favour threw him into tranſports of joy, unbecoming a man. The King had ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows, which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received in that humble poſture theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him [n].

BUT his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the King with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn in particular, who bore him no kindneſs, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinſtated in his former authority.

[m] Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. N° 31, &c.
[n] Stowe, p. 547.

CHAP. XXX.

He dismissed therefore his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides [o]. The King's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a sentence was passed upon him. And not contented with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the Parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the King for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it consists chiefly of general accusations, it was scarce susceptible of any [p]. The articles

1529.

Nov.

[o] Cavendish. Stowe, 549.

[p] The first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legatine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the King's consent and permission, could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to any man, that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority; such as receiving first all letters from the King's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made thro' him. He was also accused of naming himself with the King, as if he had been his fellow, *the King and I*; It is reported that sometimes he even put his own name before the King's, *ego et rex meus*. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whispering in the King's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far as to affirm, that no man ever fell from so high a station, who had so few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a house of commons even in this arbitrary reign,

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articles were ſent down to the houſe of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a ſervant of the cardinal, and who had been raiſed by him from a very low ſtation, defended his unfortunate patron with ſuch ſpirit, generoſity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour, which he afterwards enjoyed with the King. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

WOLSEY's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any juſt ground of accuſing him, had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was lodged againſt him; that, contrary to a ſtatute of Richard the ſecond, commonly called the ſtatute of proviſors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly that inveſting him with the legatine power, which he had exerciſed with very extenſive authority. He confeſſed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and threw himſelf on the King's mercy. He was perhaps within reach of the law; but beſides that this ſtatute was fallen altogether into diſuſe, nothing could be more rigorous and ſevere than to impute to him as a crime, what he had openly, during a courſe of ſo many years, practiſed with the conſent and approbation of the King, and the acquieſcence of the Parliament and kingdom. Not to mention, what he always aſſerted [q], and what we can ſcarce doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the moſt formal manner, which, had he not been apprehenſive of the dangers attending any

is almoſt a demonſtration of Wolſey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his deſtruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the ſtatute of proviſors, which afforded him ſo little juſt hold on that miniſter. For that this indictment was ſubſequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendiſh's life of Wolſey, Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themſelves. Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inſt. pt. 4. fol. 89.

[q] Cavendiſh, page 72.

CHAP. XXX.

1529.

opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out "of the King's protection; his lands and goods forfeited, "and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey, tho' it was not disagreeable to Henry, was carried no farther. He even granted him his pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued, from time to time, to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

Commencement of the reformation in England.

THE complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very antient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in some measure, to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills [r]; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmens being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives, thrown out, almost without opposition, in the house, against the dissoluteness of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert [s] has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Grey's-Inn, which is of a very singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists

[r] These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the house, that a thousand merks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. i. p. 73.

[s] P. 293.

upon

upon the vaſt variety of theological opinions, which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endleſs inextricable controverſies maintained by the ſeveral ſects; the impoſſibility, that any man, much leſs the people, could ever know, much leſs examine, the tenets and principles of each ſect; the neceſſity of ignorance and a ſuſpence of judgment with regard to all theſe objects of diſpute: And upon the whole, he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one ſupreme Being, the author of nature; and the neceſſity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such ſentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time; and would not be advanced, without ſome precaution, in a public aſſembly. But tho' the firſt broaching of religious controverſy might encourage the ſceptical turn in a few perſons of a ſtudious diſpoſition; the zeal, with which men ſoon after attached themſelves to their ſeveral parties, ſerved effectually to baniſh for a long time all ſuch obnoxious liberties. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Biſhop Fiſher in particular imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate, in very ſevere, and even ſomewhat indecent terms. He told him, that the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men. But Fiſher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time, that had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the biſhop of Rocheſter's ſpeech ſtopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their ſpeaker, made complaints to the King of the reflections thrown upon them; and the biſhop was obliged

CHAP. XXX.

obliged to put a more favourable conſtruction on his words [t].

1529. HENRY was not diſpleaſed, that the court of Rome and the clergy ſhould be ſenſible, that they were entirely dependant on him, and that his Parliament, if he were willing to ſecond their inclinations, were ſufficiently diſpoſed to reduce the power and privileges of the eccleſiaſtics. The commons gratified the King in another particular of moment: They granted him a diſcharge of all thoſe debts, which he had contracted ſince the beginning of his reign: And they grounded this bill, which occaſioned many complaints, on a pretence of the King's great care of the nation, and of his employing regularly all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public ſervice. Moſt of the King's creditors conſiſted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the ſupply of Henry's demands; and the preſent courtiers were well pleaſed to take the opportunity of mulcting them [u]. Several alſo approved of an expedient, which, they hoped, would ever after diſcredit a method of ſupply, ſo irregular and ſo unparliamentary.

Foreign affairs.

THE domeſtic tranſactions of England were at preſent ſo intereſting to the King, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in ſubordination to them. He had declared war againſt the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to ſtipulate a neutrality with thoſe provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exerciſed no hoſtilities againſt any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this ſummer eſtabliſhed in Europe. Margaret of Auſtria and Louiſe of Savoy met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacifica-

[t] Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii, p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.
[u] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

tion

tion between the French King and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoſtages. Henry was ſo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he ſent him an acquital of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not ſo well ſatisfied as the King with the peace of Cambray: They were there almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and ſeemed to have no other means of ſecurity left, but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave reſiſtance, was ſubdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medici. The Venetians were better treated: They were only obliged to relinquiſh ſome acquiſitions, which they had made on the coaſt of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and was pardoned all his paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already, by his vigour and capacity, ſucceeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greateſt potentates in Europe, the one ſpiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognoſtications were formed of his growing empire.

CHAP. XXX. 1529.

But though Charles ſeemed to be proſperous on every ſide, and the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that ſcarcity of money, under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himſelf threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his deſire of remedying them was the chief cauſe of his granting ſuch moderate conditions to the powers in Italy. Sultan Solyman, the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince that ever ſat on

CHAP. XXX. 1529.

the Ottoman throne, had almoſt entirely ſubdued Hungary, had beſieged Vienna, and, though repulſed, ſtill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria with conqueſt and ſubjection. The Lutheran princes in the empire, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes of the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme of aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominions over all Germany.

THE friendſhip of Henry was one material circumſtance yet wanting to Charles, in order to render his ambitious projects feaſible; and the King was ſufficiently acquainted, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties, which lay in the way of his divorce; that point, which had long been the object of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. But beſides that the intereſts of his kingdom ſeemed to require a confederacy with France, his haughty ſpirit could not brook a friendſhip impoſed on him by conſtraint; and as he had ever been accuſtomed to receive courtſhip, ſubmiſſion, and ſolicitation from the greateſt potentates, he could ill bear that dependance, to which this unhappy affair ſeemed to have reduced him. Amidſt the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a ſuperſtitious reverence to the papal authority, it is likely, that his perſonal experience of the duplicity and ſelfiſh politics of Clement, had ſerved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his royal prerogative firmly eſtabliſhed at home:

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He obſerved that his people were in general much diſguſted with clerical uſurpations, and diſpoſed to reduce the powers and privileges of the eccleſiaſtical order: He knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his proſecution of the divorce, and highly reſented that unworthy treatment, which, after ſo many ſervices and ſuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn alſo could not fail, by her inſinuations, to engage him into extremities with the pope, both as it was the readieſt way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a princeſs inclined to the reformers, had already diſpoſed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithſtanding all theſe inducements, Henry had ſtrong motives ſtill to deſire a good agreement with the ſovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of ſuch great innovations: He dreaded the reproach of hereſy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himſelf with ſuch applauſe, as he imagined, in defence of the Romiſh communion, he was aſhamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from paſſion ſuch a palpable inconſiſtency. While he was agitated by theſe contrary motives, an expedient was propoſed, which, as it promiſed a ſolution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

The univerſities conſulted about the King's marriage.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus-College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that univerſity for his learning, and ſtill more, for the candour and diſintereſtedneſs of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox the King's almoner; and as the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation, he obſerved, that the readieſt way either to quiet Henry's conſcience or extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult

CHAP. XXX. 1529.

the Ottoman throne, had almoſt entirely ſubdued Hungary, had beſieged Vienna, and, though repulſed, ſtill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria with conqueſt and ſubjection. The Lutheran princes in the empire, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes of the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme of aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominions over all Germany.

THE friendſhip of Henry was one material circumſtance yet wanting to Charles, in order to render his ambitious projects feaſible; and the King was ſufficiently acquainted, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties, which lay in the way of his divorce; that point, which had long been the object of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. But beſides that the intereſts of his kingdom ſeemed to require a confederacy with France, his haughty ſpirit could not brook a friendſhip impoſed on him by conſtraint; and as he had ever been accuſtomed to receive courtſhip, ſubmiſſion, and ſolicitation from the greateſt potentates, he could ill bear that dependance, to which this unhappy affair ſeemed to have reduced him. Amidſt the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a ſuperſtitious reverence to the papal authority, it is likely, that his perſonal experience of the duplicity and ſelfiſh politics of Clement, had ſerved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his royal prerogative firmly eſtabliſhed at home:

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CHAP. XXX.

1529.

consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve the King's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom[a]. When the King was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: He sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgment of all the universities in Europe.

HAD the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason, why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorized between the nearest relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, so we find, that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations

[a] Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

of

of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks, permitted no converſe between perſons of the two ſexes, except where they lived under the ſame roof; and even the apartments of a ſtep-mother, and her daughters, were almoſt as much ſhut up againſt viſits from the huſband's ſons, as againſt thoſe from any ſtrangers or more remote relations: Hence, in that nation, it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece, but his half ſiſter by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourſe was authorized between the ſexes. Reaſoning from this principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes, is ſo obſtructed by ceremony, and numerous attendants, that no ill conſequence would reſult among them, from the marriage of a brother's widow; eſpecially if the diſpenſation of the ſovereign prieſt is previouſly required, in order to juſtify what may in common caſes be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as ſtrong motives of public intereſt and tranquillity may frequently require ſuch alliances between the ſovereign families, there is leſs reaſon for extending towards them the full rigour of that rule which has place among individuals [b].

CHAP. XXX. 1529.

[b] Even judging of this queſtion by the ſcripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the King's cauſe appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewiſh ceremonial or municipal law: And though it is there ſaid, in the concluſion, that the gentile nations, by violating theſe degrees of conſanguinity, had incurred the divine diſpleaſure, the extenſion of this maxim to every preciſe caſe before ſpecified, is ſuppoſing the ſcriptures to be compoſed with a minute accuracy and preciſion, to which, we know with certainty, the ſacred penmen did not think proper to confine themſelves. The deſcent of mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the firſt generation, to marry in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity:

CHAP. XXX.

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CHAP. XXX.

1529. But in oppoſition to theſe reaſons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had cuſtom and practice on his ſide, the principle by which men are almoſt wholly governed in their actions and opinions. Marriages with a brother's widow were ſo unuſual, that no other inſtance of it could be found in any hiſtory or record of any Chriſtian nation; and though the popes were accuſtomed to diſpenſe with more eſſential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, ſuch as thoſe of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not as yet reconciled to this particular exerciſe of his authority. Several univerſities of Europe, therefore, without heſitation, as well as without intereſt or reward [c], gave verdict in the King's favour; not only thoſe of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Tholouſe, Angiers, which might be ſuppoſed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but alſo thoſe of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itſelf, though under the immediate juriſdiction of Clement. Oxford alone [d] and Cambridge [e] made ſome difficulty; becauſe theſe univerſities, alarmed with the progreſs of Lutheraniſm, and fearing a defection from the holy ſee, ſcrupled to give their ſanction to meaſures, whoſe conſequences, they feared, would prove ſo fatal to the antient religion. Their opinion however, conformable to that of the other univerſities of Europe, was at

1530.

guinity: Inſtances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain caſes, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a poſitive precept by the Moſaical law. It is in vain to ſay, that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewiſh nation. The inference is ſtill juſt, that ſuch a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwiſe God, who is the author of all purity, would never, in any caſe, have enjoined it.

[c] Herbert. Burnet. [d] Wood. hiſt. and ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 213.

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.

laſt

laſt procured; and the King, in order to give weight to all theſe authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cauſe to the holy father, and threatening him with the moſt dangerous conſequences in caſe of a denial of juſtice [f]. The convocations too both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the King's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to diſpenſe [g]. But Clement, lying ſtill under the influence of the emperor, continued to ſummon the King to appear, either by himſelf or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the King, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high inſult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltſhire, carried to the pope the King's reaſons for not appearing by proxy; and as the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, refuſed to kiſs his holineſs's foot, which he very graciouſly held out to him for that purpoſe [h].

CHAP. XXX. 1530.

THE extremities to which Henry was puſhed, both againſt the pope and the eccleſiaſtical order, were naturally very diſagreeable to cardinal Wolſey; and as Henry foreſaw his oppoſition, it is the moſt probable reaſon which can be aſſigned for his continuing to proſecute with ſo much rigour his ancient favourite. After Wolſey had remained ſome time at Aſher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a preſent from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But the courtiers, dreading ſtill his near neighbourhood to the King, procured an order for him to remove to his ſee of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to

[f] Rymer, vol xiv. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95. [g] Rymer vol. xiv. p. 454, 472. [h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 94.

CHAP. XXX.

1530. reſiſt: He took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular to the neighbourhood, by his affability and hoſpitality[t]; but he was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolſey's eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which turned into a dyſentery; and he was able, with ſome difficulty, to reach Leiceſter-abbey. When the abbot and monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and ceremony, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took his bed, whence

28 Novem. he never roſe more. A little before he expired, he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody. "I pray you, have me heartily recommended "unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him on my behalf "to call to his remembrance all matters that have paſſed "between us from the beginning, eſpecially with regard "to his buſineſs with the queen; and then will he "know in his conſcience whether I have offended "him.

"He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a "princely heart; and rather than he will miſs or want "any part of his will, he will endanger the one half "of his kingdom.

"I do aſſure you, that I have often kneeled before "him, ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him "from his will and appetite; but could not prevail: "Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved

[t] Cavendiſh. Stowe, p. 554.

"the

" the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore, let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the King's head: For you can never put it out again[k]."

CHAP. XXX. 1530.

THUS died this famous cardinal, whoſe character ſeems to have contained as ſingular a variety as the fortune to which he was expoſed. The obſtinacy and violence of the King's temper may alleviate much of the blame which ſome of his favourite's meaſures have undergone; and when we conſider, that the ſubſequent part of Henry's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal than that which was directed by Wolſey's councils, we ſhall be inclined to ſuſpect of partiality thoſe hiſtorians, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this favourite with ſuch violent reproaches. If in foreign politics, he ſometimes employed his influence over the King for his private purpoſes, rather than his maſter's intereſt, which, he boaſted, he had ſolely at heart; we muſt remember, that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity, which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a ſuitable return for all his favours. The cardinal d'Amboiſe, whoſe memory is precious in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in ſome reſpect, ſimilar to Wolſey's; and we have reaſon to think, that Henry was well acquainted with the motives by which his miniſter was influenced. He regretted very much his death, when informed of it; and always ſpoke favourably of his memory: A proof, that humour more than reaſon, or any diſcovery of

Wolſey's death.

[k] Cavendiſh.

CHAP. XXX.

treachery, had occaſioned his laſt perſecutions againſt him.

1531. 16 January. A Parliament.

A NEW ſeſſion of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the King gave ſtrong proofs of his extenſive authority, as well as of his intention to employ it to the depreſſion of the Clergy. As an antient ſtatute, now almoſt obſolete, had been made uſe of to ruin Wolſey, and render his exerciſe of the legatine power criminal, notwithſtanding the Kng's permiſſion; the ſame law was now turned againſt the eccleſiaſtics. It was pretended, that every one who had ſubmitted to the legatine authority, that is, the whole church, had violated the ſtatute of proviſors; and the attorney-general brought accordingly an indictment againſt them[l]. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppoſe reaſon or equity to the King's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain conſequence of not ſubmitting to Wolſey's commiſſion, which was procured by Henry's conſent, and ſupported by his authority. They choſe therefore to throw themſelves on the mercy of their ſovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 l. for their pardon[m]. A confeſſion was likewiſe extorted from them, that *the King was the protector and the ſupreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though ſome of them had the dexterity to get a clauſe inſerted, which invalidated the whole ſubmiſſion, and which ran in theſe terms, *in ſo far as is permitted by the law of Chriſt.*

THE commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehenſive for themſelves, leſt either they ſhould afterwards be brought into trouble,

[l] Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.
[m] Hollingſhed, p. 923.

on account of their ſubmiſſion to the legatine court, or a ſupply be extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the King, to grant a remiſſion to his lay ſubjects; but met with a repulſe. He told them, that, if he ever pleaſed to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodneſs, not from their application, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they deſpaired of obtaining this conceſſion, he was pleaſed to iſſue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expreſſed great gratitude for this act of clemency [n]. CHAP. XXX. 1531.

By the ſtrict execution of the ſtatute of proviſors, a great part of the profit, and ſtill more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the Engliſh clergy were, in ſome meaſure, diſſolved. The next ſeſſion found both King and Parliament in the ſame diſpoſitions. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates or firſt fruits [o]; being a year's rent of all the biſhoprics that fell vacant: A tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums. Since the ſecond of Henry the ſeventh, no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome, on account of this claim; which the Parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. of all the epiſcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the King was entruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: And it was voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded, and that maſs ſhould be 1532. 15 January. Progreſs of the reformation.

[n] Hall's chronicle. Hollingſhed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.
[o] Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N°. 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. XXX.

said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

1532. This session the commons preferred to the King, a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session, before the Parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements, or trust deeds, of their land by will, that they defrauded, not only the King, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the King was deprived of his primier seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of the revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: He was contented, that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the Parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing, when it "was offered, he would search out the extremity of the "law; and then would not offer them so much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A singular instance, where Henry might see, that his power and authority, tho' extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The King made good his threats: He called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands, in prejudice of his heir [p].

10 April. The Parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the King caused the two oaths to be read

[p] Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parlimentary history.

CHAP. XXX. 1532.

to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the King, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns [q], the Parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable, that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the House should address the King, to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion occasioned the King to send for Audley, the Speaker; and to explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had so long been agitated; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of, that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first christian man who had ever married his brother's widow [r].

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the King and Parliament tended to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, which his principles would not permit him to concur with, desired leave to resign the seals; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had nowise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, nor even diminished that frolic and gaity

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124. [r] Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

CHAP. XXX.

1532. to which he was naturally inclined. He ſported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high ſtation, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his ſerene and equal ſpirit. While his family diſcovered ſymptoms of ſorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accuſtomed, he drew a ſubject of mirth from their diſtreſſes; and made them aſhamed of loſing even a moment's chearfulneſs, on account of ſuch trivial misfortunes. The King, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, admitted his reſignation with ſome difficulty; and he beſtowed the ſeals ſoon after on Sir Thomas Audley.

DURING theſe tranſactions in England, and theſe invaſions of the papal and eccleſiaſtical authority, the court of Rome were not without ſolicitude; and they entertained very juſt apprehenſions of loſing entirely their authority in England; the kingdom, which, of all others, had long been moſt devoted to the holy ſee, and which had yielded it the moſt ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals puſhed Clement to proceed to extremities againſt the King, his more moderate and impartial counſellers repreſented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had ſignalized himſelf, both by his pen and his ſword, in the pope's cauſe, ſhould be denied a favour, which he demanded on ſuch juſt grounds, and which had ſcarce ever before been refuſed to any perſon of his rank and ſtation. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the Queen's appeal was received at Rome; the King was cited to appear; and ſeveral conſiſtories were held, to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to ſend any proxy to plead his cauſe before this court: He only diſpatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of

excuſators, ſo they were called, to carry his apology, for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he ſaid, muſt be ſacrificed, if he allowed of appeals from his own kingdom; and as the queſtion regarded conſcience, not power or intereſt, no proxy could ſupply his place, or convey that ſatisfaction which the dictates of his own mind could alone confer. In order to ſupport himſelf in this meaſure, and add greater ſecurity to his defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his perſonal friendſhip, as well as public alliance, with that monarch, and concerted all meaſures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which, he believed, he had perſuaded Francis to imitate his example in withdrawing his obedience from the biſhop of Rome, and adminiſtering eccleſiaſtical affairs without having farther recourſe to that ſee. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as reſolute to ſtand all conſequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioneſs of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, ſoon after raiſed to the biſhopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new Queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were preſent at the ceremony[s]. Anne became pregnant ſoon after her marriage; and this event, both gave great joy to the King, and was regarded by the people as a ſtrong proof of the Queen's former modeſty and virtue.

CHAP. XXX.

1531. 11 October. 14 Novem.

THE Parliament was again aſſembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded ſtill in thoſe gradual and ſecure ſteps, by which

1533. 4 February. A Parliament.

[s] Herbert, 340, 341.

they

CHAP. XXX. 1533.

they looſened their connexions with the ſee of Rome, and repreſſed the uſurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made againſt all appeals to Rome in cauſes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other ſuits cognizable in eccleſiaſtical courts; appeals eſteemed diſhonourable to the kingdom, by ſubjecting it to a foreign juriſdiction; and found to be infinitely vexatious, by the expence and the delay of juſtice, which neceſſarily attended them[t]. The more to ſhew his diſregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new Queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulneſs, he prepared meaſures for declaring, by a formal ſentence, the invalidity of his former marriage with Catherine: A ſentence which ought naturally to have preceded his eſpouſals of Anne[u].

12 April.

THE King, notwithſtanding his ſcruples and remorſes on account of his firſt marriage, had always treated Catherine with reſpect and diſtinction; and he endeavoured, by every ſoft and perſuaſive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her oppoſition to his divorce. Finding her obſtinate in maintaining the juſtice of her cauſe, he had totally forborne all viſits and intercourſe with her; and had deſired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which ſhe ſhould pleaſe to reſide. She had fixed her court for ſome time at Amphill near Dunſtable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the death of Warham[x], was appointed to open

10 May.

[t] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [u] Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and Records, N°. 8.

[x] Biſhop Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requiſite for Cranmer's inſtallation. By one bull, directed to the King, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbiſhop of Canterbury. By a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is made archbiſhop. By a third, he is abſolved

open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, neither by herself nor proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of the marriage were produced; the opinions of the universities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preparatory steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the King's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence, he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned Queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony[y]. To complete the King's satisfaction, on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered

CHAP. XXX. 1533.

7 Sept.

absolved from all censures. A fourth, is to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his fee. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordained to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth bull the pall was sent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were so many artifices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the King, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This device was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict sincerity, and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. N°. 22. Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

y Heylin, p. 6.

of

CHAP. XXX.

1533. of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards ſwayed the ſcepter with ſuch renown and felicity. Henry was ſo much delighted with the birth of this child, that ſoon after he conferred on her the title of princeſs of Wales[q]; a ſtep ſomewhat irregular, as ſhe was only preſumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to beſtow on the offspring of his preſent marriage the ſame marks of diſtinction, as well as exclude Mary from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. His regard for the new Queen ſeemed rather to increaſe than diminiſh by his marriage; and all men expected to ſee the entire aſcendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had ſet her at ſo great a diſtance, and who, by a proper mixture of ſeverity and indulgence, had long managed ſo intractable a ſpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as poſſible, all marks of his firſt marriage, Lord Mountjoy was ſent to the unfortunate and divorced Queen, to inform her, that ſhe was henceforth to be treated only as princeſs-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquieſce in that determination. But ſhe continued obſtinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and ſhe would admit of no ſervice from any perſon, who did not approach her with the accuſtomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generoſity towards her, employed menaces againſt ſuch of her ſervants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquiſh her title and pretenſions[r].

WHEN intelligence was conveyed to Rome of theſe tranſactions, ſo injurious to the authority and reputation

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

[r] Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.

of

of the holy ſee, the conclave were in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive ſentence, and to emit his ſpiritual thunders againſt Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's ſentence, as well as that of Henry's ſecond marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the firſt of November enſuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition, in which they formerly ſtood[s]. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable concluſion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity againſt the King. CHAP. XXX. 1533.

THE pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the ſovereignty of Reggio and Modena[t]; and having ſubmitted his pretenſions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was ſurprized to find a ſentence pronounced againſt him. Enraged at this diſappointment, he hearkened to propoſals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, with Catherine of Medici, niece to the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was ſo much honoured. An interview was even appointed of the pope and French King at Marſeilles; and Francis, as a common friend, employed his good offices in mediating an agreement between his new ally and the King of England.

HAD this connexion of France with the ſee of Rome taken place a few years ſooner, there had been little difficulty in compoſing the quarrel with Henry. The King's requeſt was an ordinary one; and the ſame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a diſpen-

[s] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.
[t] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guiſciardini.

ſation

CHAP. XXX.

1533. ſation for his eſpouſing Catherine, could eaſily have annulled the marriage. But in the progreſs of the quarrel, the ſtate of affairs was much changed on both ſides. Henry had ſhaken off much of that reverence with which he had been early imbued for the apoſtolical ſee; and finding, that his ſubjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his movements for breaking foreign dependance, he had taken a reliſh for his ſpiritual authority, and would ſcarce, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his ſubmiſſions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, ran now a manifeſt riſque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the King; and as a ſentence of divorce could no longer be reſted on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be conſtrued as an acknowledgment of papal uſurpations, it was foreſeen, that the Lutherans would thence take occaſion of triumph, and would perſevere more obſtinately in their preſent principles. But notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Francis did not deſpair of mediating an agreement. He ſtill obſerved that the King had ſome remains of prejudice in favour of the apoſtolic ſee, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences, which might enſue from too violent innovations. He ſaw plainly the intereſt, that Clement had in preſerving the obedience of England, which was one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped, that theſe motives on both ſides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

FRANCIS firſt prevailed on the pope to promiſe, that, if the King would ſend a proxy to Rome, and thereby ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, he would appoint commiſſioners to meet at Cambray, and form the proceſs; and he would immediately afterwards pronounce the ſentence of divorce, required of him. Bellay, biſhop of Paris,

CHAP. XXX.

Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise of the King, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that, if the King would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all the world regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion [u]. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the King's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed: News were brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the King in derision of the pope and cardinals [x]. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after, the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that, tho' he repented heartily of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

1534.

King's final breach with Rome.

23d March.

It is not probable, that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was both impetuous and obstinate in his character; and having proceeded so far in throwing

[u] Father Paul, lib. 1.

[x] Father Paul, lib. 1.

off

CHAP. XXX.

1534. 15 January.

A Parliament.

off the papal yoke, he never could again have been induced tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time, when he was negotiating a reconcilement with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a Parliament; and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched something from the power and profit of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation, that a general council was much superior to the pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was intitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese[y]. The proceedings of the Parliament showed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe, that the King, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all the doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the apostolic see, but never would have surrendered to it any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws, passed this session, even before news arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

ALL payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the King alone: The law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited to imprison or try any person upon suspicion alone, without present-

[y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

ment

ment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared, that to ſpeak againſt the pope's authority was no hereſy: Biſhops were to be appointed, by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or proviſions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter, which they had hitherto enjoyed [z]: The law which had been formerly made againſt paying annates or firſt fruits, but which had been left in the King's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed: And a ſubmiſſion, which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this ſeſſion the ſanction of Parliament [a]. In this ſubmiſſion, the clergy acknowledge, that convocations ought only to be aſſembled by the King's authority; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agree, that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative [b]. An appeal was alſo allowed from the biſhop's court to the King in Chancery. CHAP. XXX. 1534.

BUT the moſt important law paſſed this ſeſſion, was that which regulated the ſucceſſion to the crown: The marriage of the King with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's ſentence, annulling it, was ratified: And the marriage with Queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of that marriage, and failing them to the King's heirs for ever. An oath likewiſe was ordered to be taken in favour of this ſucceſſion,

[z] Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.
[a] 25 H. 8. c. 19.
[b] Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

CHAP. XXX.

1534. 30 March.

under the penalty of impriſonment during the King's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the King, Queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon. After theſe compliances, the Parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced his haſty ſentence againſt the King. Henry's reſentment againſt Queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intention, when he began the ſuit of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.

THE King found his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered, that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the King's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted, that the biſhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more juriſdiction in England than any other foreign biſhop; and that the authority, which he and his predeceſſors had exerciſed there, was only by uſurpation and the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons only oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe, and one doubted. It paſſed unanimouſly in the upper. The biſhops went ſo far in their complaiſance, that they took out new commiſſions from the crown, where all their ſpiritual and epiſcopal authority was expreſsly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magiſtrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleaſure [c].

THE oath regarding the ſucceſſion was generally ſworn throughout the kingdom. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter,

[c] Collier's Eccl. hiſt. vol. ii.

and

and Sir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note, who entertained ſcruples with regard to its legality. Fiſher was obnoxious on account of ſome practices, into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, ſeems to have betrayed him. But More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed, that his authority would have influence on the ſentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulneſs of the oath. He declared, that he had no ſcruple with regard to the ſucceſſion, and thought that the Parliament had full power to ſettle it: He offered to draw an oath himſelf, which would aſſure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law; becauſe the preamble of that oath aſſerted the legality of the King's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied, that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwel, now ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, earneſtly ſolicited him to lay aſide his ſcruples; and their friendly entreaties ſeemed to weigh more with him, than all the penalties attending his refuſal [d]. He perſiſted however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his reſolution; and the King, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered them both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the Tower. CHAP. XXX. 1534.

THE Parliament, being again aſſembled, conferred on the King the title of the only ſupreme *head* on earth of the church of England; as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act, the Parliament granted him power, or 3d November.

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 156.

CHAP. XXX. 1534.

rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to viſit, and "repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, or "amend all errors, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts "and enormities, which fell under any ſpiritual autho- "rity or juriſdiction[c]." They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak evil againſt the King, Queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour the depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tythes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fiſher for miſpriſion of treaſon. And they compleated the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Engliſh laws.

THUS the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the exceſs of its acquiſitions, and by ſtretching its pretenſions beyond what it was poſſible for any human principles or prepoſſeſſions to ſuſtain. The right of granting indulgences had in former ages contributed extremely to enrich the holy ſee; but being openly abuſed, they ſerved to exite the firſt commotions and oppoſitions in Germany. The prerogative of granting diſpenſations had alſo contributed much to attach all the ſovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumſtances, was now the cauſe, why England ſeparated herſelf from the Romiſh communion. The acknowledgment of the King's ſupremacy introduced there a greater ſimplicity into the government, by uniting the ſpiritual with the civil power, and preventing diſputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending parties. A way was alſo prepared for checking the exorbitancy of ſuperſtition, and

[c] 26 H. 8. c. 1.

breaking

breaking thoſe ſhackles, by which all human reaſon, policy and induſtry had ſo long been incumbered. The prince, it may be ſuppoſed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom, though he might ſometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no intereſt, like the Roman pontiff, in nouriſhing its exceſſive growth; and, except when blinded by ignorance or bigotry, would be ſure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuſes. And on the whole, there followed from theſe revolutions very beneficial conſequences; though perhaps neither foreſeen nor intended by the perſons who had the chief hand in conducting them. CHAP. XXX. 1534.

WHILE Henry proceeded with ſo much order and tranquillity in changing the antient religion, and while his authority ſeemed entirely ſecure in England, he was held in ſome inquietude by the ſtate of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

THE earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the King's natural ſon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accuſed of ſome violences againſt the family of Oſſory, his hereditary enemy, he was called over to anſwer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his ſon, who hearing that his father was thrown into priſon, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himſelf to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Iriſh nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbiſhop of Dublin, and laid ſiege to that city. Old Kildare mean-while died in priſon, and his ſon, perſevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promiſed him aſſiſtance. The King was obliged to ſend over ſome forces to Ireland, which ſo harraſſed the rebels, that Kildare, find-

CHAP. XXX.

1534. ing the emperor backward in fulfilling his promiſes, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf priſoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorſet. He was ſent over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public juſtice; though two of the uncles, in order to ſave the family, had pretended to join the King's party.

THE earl of Angus had acquired the entire aſcendant in Scotland, and having got poſſeſſion of the King's perſon, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his ſpouſe, bred him great diſturbance: For having ſeparated herſelf from him, on account of ſome jealouſies and diſguſts, and having procured a divorce, ſhe had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and ſhe joined all the diſcontented nobility, who oppoſed Angus's authority. James himſelf was diſſatisfied with the ſlavery, to which he was reduced; and by ſecret correſpondence, he excited firſt Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, to free him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of ſucceſs; but James, impatient of reſtraint, found means at laſt of flying to Stirling, where his mother then reſided; and having ſummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglaſſes, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The King of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himſelf with great ſpirit and valour, in repreſſing thoſe feuds, ravages, and diſorders, which, though they diſturbed the courſe of public juſtice, ſerved to ſupport the

CHAP. XXX. 1534.

the martial ſpirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independancy. He was deſirous of renewing the antient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in cloſe union with England, and on that account ſomewhat cold in hearkening to his propoſals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of ſuch an ally, to breed diſturbance to England. He offered the Scots King the choice of three princeſſes, his near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his ſiſter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his couſin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to diſpoſe of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propoſal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propenſity to France at laſt prevailed over all other conſiderations. The alliance with Francis neceſſarily engaged James to agree to terms of peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcaſtle, and concert common meaſures for repreſſing the eccleſiaſtics in both kingdoms, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed with to put himſelf in the King's power. In order to have a pretext for refuſing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any perſonal negotiations with an enemy of the holy ſee. By theſe meaſures, Henry eaſily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendſhip of his nephew. But thoſe events took not place till ſome time after our preſent period.

CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people——of the King——of the miniſters——Farther progreſs of the reformation——Sir Thomas More——The maid of Kent——Trial and execution of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter——of Sir Thomas More——King excommunicated——Death of Queen Catherine——Suppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries——A Parliament——A convocation——Tranſlation of the bible——Diſgrace of Queen Anne——Her trial——and execution——A Parliament——A convocation——Diſcontents among the people——Inſurrection——Birth of prince Edward and death of Queen Jane——Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries——Cardinal Pole.

CHAP. XXXI.

1534. Religious principles of the people.

THE antient and almoſt uninterrupted oppoſition of intereſt between the laity and clergy in England, and between the Engliſh clergy and the court of Rome, had ſufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the Roman pontiff; and men had penetration enough to diſcover abuſes, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found deſtructive of their own. Theſe ſubjects ſeemed proportioned to human underſtanding; and even the people, who felt the power of intereſt in their own breaſts, could perceive the purpoſe of thoſe numerous inventions, which the intereſted ſpirit of the ſovereign pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers

reformers proceeded thence to diſpute concerning the nature of the ſacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during ſome time, at a loſs how to chuſe their party. The profound ignorance, in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a ſincere, but indolent acquieſcence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reaſoning, nor by thoſe prejudices and antipathies againſt opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As ſoon as a new opinion therefore was advanced, ſupported by ſuch an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for ſuch diſquiſitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the ſudden and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the moſt oppoſite directions: Hence their ſeeming proſtitution in ſacrificing to preſent power the moſt ſacred principles: And hence the rapid progreſs during ſome time, and the ſudden as well as entire check given afterwards to the new doctrines. When men were once ſettled in their particular ſects, and had fortified themſelves in an habitual deteſtation againſt thoſe eſteemed heretics, they adhered with more obſtinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions remained thenceforth fixed and unchangeable.

NOTHING forwarded more the firſt progreſs of the reformers, than the offer, which they made, of ſubmitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the ſummons given every one to examine the principles formerly impoſed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they

CHAP. XXXI.

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CHAP. XXXI.

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CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

they yet were highly pleaſed with it. They fancied that they were exerciſing their judgment, while they oppoſed to the prejudices of antient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itſelf of the doctrines; the pleaſure of an imaginary triumph in diſpute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in ſuffering perſecution, death, and torments; a diſguſt againſt the reſtraints of the old religion; an indignation againſt the tyranny and intereſted ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics; theſe motives were prevalent with the people, and by ſuch conſiderations were men ſo generally induced during that age, to throw off the religion of their anceſtors.

But in proportion as the practice of ſubmitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in ſome reſpects, dangerous to the rights of ſovereigns, and ſeemed to deſtroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magiſtrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of ſhaking ſuch an antient and deep founded eſtabliſhment as that of the Roman hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican ſpirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increaſed this jealouſy. The furious inſurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptiſts in Germany[a], furniſhed a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, becauſe Proteſtants in our time prove as dutiful ſubjects as thoſe of any other religion, that therefore ſuch apprehenſions were altogether without any appearance or plauſibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the diſciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted

[a] Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

cepted of; and men are generally contented to acquieſce in thoſe eſtabliſhments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them. CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

No prince in Europe was poſſeſſed of ſuch abſolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himſelf, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers [c]; and there was ſmall likelihood, that any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging ſedition, could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But beſides this political jealouſy, there was another reaſon which inſpired this imperious monarch with an averſion to the reformers. He had early declared his ſentiments againſt Luther; and having entered the liſts in thoſe ſcholaſtic quarrels, he had received, from his courtiers and theologians, infinite applauſe for his performance. Elated by this imaginary ſucceſs, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obſtinacy of temper, he had entertained the moſt lofty opinion of his own erudition, and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his ſentiments. Luther alſo had been ſo imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagoniſt; and though he afterwards made the humbleſt ſubmiſſions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expreſſions, he never could efface the hatred which the King had conceived Of the King.

[c] Here are the terms in which the King's miniſter expreſſed himſelf to the pope. An non, inquam, ſanctitas veſtra pleroſque habet quibuſcum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum eſſe quam ſi uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis ſereniſſimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui finguli in ſuo regno ſunt ſubjecti, neque etiam velint, poſſunt Regi non eſſe fideliſſimi. Væ namque illis, ſi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Le Grand, tom. III. p. 113. The King once ſaid publicly before the council, that if any one ſpoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know, that he was maſter. Et qu'il n'y auroit ſi belle tete qu'il ne fit voler. Id. p. 218.

againſt

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

againſt him and his doctrines. The idea of hereſy ſtill appeared deteſtable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilſt his reſentment againſt the ſee of Rome had removed one conſiderable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquiſh the reſt. Separate as he ſtood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and ſword, the imagined purity of his ſpeculative principles.

Of the miniſters.

HENRY's miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and ſeemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The Queen, engaged by intereſt as well as inclination, favoured the cauſe of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created ſecretary of ſtate, and who was every day advancing in the King's confidence, had embraced the ſame views; and as he was a man of prudence and ability, he was able, very effectually, tho' in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſecretly adopted the proteſtant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity; virtues which he poſſeſſed in as eminent a degree as thoſe times, equally diſtracted with faction and oppreſſed with tyranny, could eaſily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by the greatneſs of his rank, as well as by his talents, both for peace and war, he had great weight in the King's council: Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had inliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely uſeful to it.

ALL theſe miniſters, while they ſtood in the moſt irreconcileable oppoſition of principles, were obliged to diſguiſe

guiſe their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the ſentiments of their maſter. Cromwel and Cranmer ſtill carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient ſpeculative tenets; but they artfully made uſe of Henry's reſentment to widen the breach with the ſee of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an aſſent to the King's ſupremacy, and to his renounciation of the ſovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his paſſion for the catholic faith, and inſtigated him to puniſh thoſe daring heretics, who had preſumed to reject his theological principles. Both ſides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The King mean while, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtſhip payed him both by proteſtants and catholics, to aſſume an immeaſurable authority: And tho' in all theſe meaſures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he caſually held a courſe, which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the moſt profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocriſy, in his ſituation, would have put both parties on their guard againſt him, and would have taught them reſerve in complying with a monarch, whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankneſs, ſincerity, and openneſs of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious paſſions; each ſide dreaded to loſe him by the ſmalleſt oppoſition, and flattered themſelves that a blind compliance with his will, would throw him, cordially and fully, into their intereſts.

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

THE ambiguity of the King's conduct, tho' it kept the courtiers in awe, ſerved to encourage the proteſtant doctrine among his ſubjects, and promoted that ſpirit of innovation with which the age was generally ſeized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a ſteady

CHAP. XXXI.

1534.

steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the King's authority, had fled to Antwerp [a]; where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces, served, during some time, to give them protection.

Farther progress of the reformation.

These men employed themselves in writing books, in English, against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans and other protestants, they asserted, that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition [b] was a reliance on *good works*; by which terms they understood, as well the moral duties, as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but tho' they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions, gainful to the church, which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books, composed by these fugitives, having stole over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal, that was esteemed most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression,

[a] Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

[b] Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera & non per solam fidem. *Luther adversus regem.* Ita vides quam dives sit homo christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. *Id. de captivitate Babylonica.*

was

was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made ſenſible. Tonſtal, then biſhop of London, ſoon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being deſirous to diſcourage, in the gentleſt manner, theſe innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies, which could be found at Antwerp; and he burnt them publicly in Cheapſide. By this contrivance, he ſupplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave occaſion to great ſcandal and reproach, in thus committing to the flames the word of God [c].

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

THE diſciples of the reformation met with little ſeverity during the miniſtry of Wolſey, who, tho' himſelf a clergyman, bore too ſmall regard to the eccleſiaſtical order, to ſerve as an inſtrument of their tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment againſt him [d], that by his connivance he had encouraged the growth of hereſy, and that he had protected and acquitted ſome notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who ſucceeded Wolſey as chancellor, is at once an object deſerving our compaſſion, and an inſtance of the uſual progreſs of men's ſentiments during that age. This man, whoſe elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble ſpirit of antiquity, had given him very enlarged ſentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles, which even at preſent would be deemed ſomewhat libertine, had, in the courſe of events, been ſo irritated by polemics, and thrown into ſuch a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquiſitors have been guilty of greater violence in their proſecutions of hereſy. Tho' adorned with the gentleſt manners, as well as the pureſt integrity, he carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the

Sir Thomas More.

[c] Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.
[d] Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

Temple,

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

Temple, experienced from him the higheſt ſeverity. Bainham, accuſed of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's houſe, and having refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipt in his preſence, and afterwards ſent him to the Tower, where he himſelf ſaw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all theſe ſeverities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunction for this apoſtacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield [e].

MANY were brought into the biſhops courts for offences, which appear very trivial, but which were regarded as ſymbols of the party: Some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in Engliſh; others for reading the new teſtament in that language, or for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimages. To harbour the perſecuted preachers, to neglect the faſts of the church, to declaim againſt the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was ſo haunted by remorſe, that his friends dreaded ſome fatal effects of his deſpair. At laſt, his mind ſeemed to be more compoſed; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the reſolution which he had taken, of expiating his paſt offence, by an open confeſſion of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went thro' Norfolk, teaching every where the people to beware of idolatry, and of truſting either to pilgrimages, or to the cowle of St. Francis, to the prayers of the ſaints, or to images. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhop's court, and condemned as a relapſed heretic; and the writ was ſent down to burn him. When brought

[e] Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

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to the ſtake, he diſcovered ſuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the ſpectators were much affected with the horrors of his puniſhment; and ſome mendicant friars, who were preſent, fearing that his death would be imputed to them, and make them loſe thoſe alms, which they received from the charity of the people, deſired him publicly to acquit them [f] of having any hand in his death. He very willingly complied; and by this meekneſs gained the more on the ſympathy of the people. Another perſon, ſtill more heroic, being brought to the ſtake for denying the real preſence, ſeemed almoſt in a tranſport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots, which were to be the inſtruments of his puniſhment, as the means of procuring him eternal reſt. In ſhort, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, thoſe ſevere executions, which, in another diſpoſition of men's minds, would have ſufficed to ſuppreſs it, now ſerved only the more to diffuſe it among the people, and to inſpire them with horror againſt the unrelenting perſecutors.

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

But tho' Henry neglected not to puniſh the proteſtant doctrine, which he eſteemed hereſy, his moſt formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain conſequence of aboliſhing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the King, had the aſſurance to tell him, "That "many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a "true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick "his blood, as they had done Ahab's [g]." The King took no notice of this inſult; but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday, he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who juſtified the King's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel,

[f] Ibid. p. 164. [g] Strype, vol. i. p. 267.

CHAP. XXXI.

1534.

a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traytor. Elſton, another friar of the ſame houſe, interrupted the preacher; and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who ſought to eſtabliſh by adultery the ſucceſſion to the crown; but that he himſelf would juſtify all that Peyto had ſaid. Henry ſilenced this petulant friar; but ſhowed no other mark of reſentment than ordering Peyto and him to be ſummoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence [h]. He even here bore patiently ſome new inſtances of their obſtinacy and arrogance. For when the earl of Eſſex, a privy counſellor, told them, that they deſerved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elſton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land [i].

The Maid of Kent.

But ſeveral monks were detected in a conſpiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the King, was on its diſcovery attended with more fatal conſequences to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and having produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her utter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarce conſcious of them during the time, had ſoon after entirely eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neighbourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Maſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, founded on them a project, by which he hoped to draw both profit and conſideration to himſelf. He went to Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was at that time alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he ſo far wrought on that prudent, but ſuperſtitious prelate, as to receive orders from

[h] Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

[i] Stowe, p. 562.

him

him to watch her in her trances, and to note down carefully all her future ſpeeches. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo high a rank, ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf, that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt. Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to illuſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then uttered, in an extraordinary tone of voice, ſuch ſpeeches as were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director. Maſters aſſociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their deſign was to raiſe the credit of an image of the virgin, which ſtood in a chapel belonging to Maſters, and to draw ſuch pilgrimages to it as uſually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In proſecution of this deſign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourſe to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the preſence of a great multitude, ſhe fell anew into convulſions; and after diſtorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, ſhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceſſion of the virgin [k]. This miracle was ſoon bruited abroad; and the two prieſts, finding the impoſture to ſucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe denominated hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government; and againſt the King's divorce from Catherine. She went ſo far as to aſſert, that, if he proſecuted that deſign, and married another, he ſhould not be a King a month longer, and ſhould not an hour longer poſſeſs the favour of the Almighty, but ſhould die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout Eng-

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

[k] Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of chronicles.

CHAP. XXXI.

1534.

a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traytor. Elſton, another friar of the ſame houſe, interrupted the preacher; and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who ſought to eſtabliſh by adultery the ſucceſſion to the crown; but that he himſelf would juſtify all that Peyto had ſaid. Henry ſilenced this petulant friar; but ſhowed no other mark of reſentment than ordering Peyto and him to be ſummoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence [h]. He even here bore patiently ſome new inſtances of their obſtinacy and arrogance. For when the earl of Eſſex, a privy counſellor, told them, that they deſerved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elſton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land [i].

The Maid of Kent.

But ſeveral monks were detected in a conſpiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the King, was on its diſcovery attended with more fatal conſequences to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and having produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her utter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarce conſcious of them during the time, had ſoon after entirely eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neighbourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Maſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, founded on them a project, by which he hoped to draw both profit and conſideration to himſelf. He went to Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was at that time alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he ſo far wrought on that prudent, but ſuperſtitious prelate, as to receive orders from

[h] Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

[i] Stowe, p. 562.

him

him to watch her in her trances, and to note down carefully all her future ſpeeches. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo high a rank, ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf, that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt. Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to illuſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then uttered, in an extraordinary tone of voice, ſuch ſpeeches as were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director. Maſters aſſociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their deſign was to raiſe the credit of an image of the virgin, which ſtood in a chapel belonging to Maſters, and to draw ſuch pilgrimages to it as uſually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In proſecution of this deſign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourſe to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the preſence of a great multitude, ſhe fell anew into convulſions; and after diſtorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, ſhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceſſion of the virgin [k]. This miracle was ſoon bruited abroad; and the two prieſts, finding the impoſture to ſucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe denominated hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government; and againſt the King's divorce from Catherine. She went ſo far as to aſſert, that, if he proſecuted that deſign, and married another, he ſhould not be a King a month longer, and ſhould not an hour longer poſſeſs the favour of the Almighty, but ſhould die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout Eng-

CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

[k] Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of chronicles.

CHAP. XXXI.

1534. land, either from folly, or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into this deluſion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth [l]. Miracles were daily added, to encreaſe the wonder; and the pulpit every where reſounded with accounts of the ſanctity and inſpirations of this new propheteſs. Meſſages were carried from her to Queen Catherine, by which that princeſs was exhorted to perſiſt in her oppoſition to the divorce; the pope's ambaſſadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, tho' a man of ſenſe and learning, was carried away with an opinion ſo favourable to the party, which he had embraced [m]. The King at laſt began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arreſted, he brought them before the ſtar-chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confeſſion of their guilt. The Parliament, in the ſeſſion held the beginning of this year, paſſed an act of attainder againſt ſome who were engaged in this treaſonable impoſture [n]; and Elizabeth herſelf, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, Gold, ſuffered for their crime. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Abel, Addiſon, Laurence, and ſome others, were condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon; becauſe they had not diſcovered ſome criminal ſpeeches which they heard from Elizabeth [o]: And they were thrown into priſon. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the propheteſs's miracles was detected; and even the ſcandalous proſtitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Thoſe paſſions, which ſo naturally inſinuate themſelves amidſt the warm intimacies maintained by the

[l] Strype, vol. i. p. 181. [m] Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.
[n] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.
[o] Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

devotees

devotees of different ſexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was ſaid to have been miraculouſly opened, in order to give her acceſs to the chapel, for the ſake of frequent converſe with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Maſters for leſs refined purpoſes. CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

THE detection of an impoſture, attended with ſo many odious circumſtances, hurt much the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, particularly of the monks, and inſtigated the King to take vengeance on them. He ſuppreſſed three monaſteries of the Obſervantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the reſt. Meanwhile, he exerciſed puniſhment on individuals, who were obnoxious to him. The Parliament had made it treaſon to endeavour the depriving the King of his dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other titles, that of ſupreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his ſupremacy was treaſon; and many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of crime. It was certainly a high inſtance of tyranny to make the mere delivery of a political opinion, eſpecially one that nowiſe affected the King's temporal right, to be a capital offence, tho' attended with no overt act; and the Parliament, in paſſing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, ſhould be governed: But the violence of changing ſo ſuddenly the whole ſyſtem of government, and the making it treaſon to deny what, during many ages, it had been hereſy to aſſert, is an event which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. Even the ſtern unrelenting mind of Henry was, at firſt, ſhocked with theſe ſanguinary meaſures; and he went ſo far as to change 1535.

CHAP. XXXI. 1535.

his garb and dreſs, pretending ſorrow for the neceſſity, by which he was puſhed to ſuch extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fiſher and More, to conſummate his lawleſs tyranny.

Trial and execution of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter.

JOHN Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, was a prelate, eminent for his learning and morals, no leſs than for his eccleſiaſtical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long poſſeſſed with the King. When he was thrown into priſon, on account of his refuſing the oath of ſucceſſion, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treaſonable ſpeeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but ſtripped of his very cloaths, and, without conſideration of his extreme age, was allowed nothing but rags, which ſcarce ſufficed to cover his nakedneſs [p]. In this condition, he lay in priſon above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompenſe the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; tho' Fiſher was ſo careleſs of that dignity, that even if the purple were lying on the ground, he declared that he would not ſtoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his oppoſition to royal authority, rouzed the indignation of the King; and he reſolved to make the innocent perſon feel the effects of his reſentment. Fiſher was indicted for denying the King's ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

22d June.

Of Sir Thomas More.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the King. That prince alſo bore as great perſonal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the ſport of paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man, who

[p] Fuller's Church Hiſt. book 5. p. 203.

in

in any particular oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the King's ſupremacy; and tho' Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpoſe. Rich, the ſolicitor general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy: He was only inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law, which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was like a two-edged ſword: If a perſon anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treaſon againſt the priſoner. His ſilence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the ſupremacy [q]. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave ſentence againſt More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him againſt the terrors of death. Not only his conſtancy, but even his cheerfulneſs, nay, his uſual facetiouſneſs, never forſook him; and he made a ſacrifice of his life to his integrity with the ſame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up, and "when I go down again let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never get credit by be-"heading me, my neck is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard: "For," ſaid he, "it never committed "treaſon." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cauſe, more free from weakneſs and

CHAP. XXXI. 1535.

[q] More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

CHAP. XXXI.

1535.

superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are equally objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

6th July.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the King; and numerous libels were published, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement the seventh had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the King; and Paul the third, of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who had always favoured Henry's cause while a cardinal, had hoped, that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: And Henry himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation, which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required, that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences, which rendered the quarrel totally incurable.

30th Aug. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul, as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the King, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the King of his realm; subjected the kingdom to an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader;

King excommunicated.

commanded

commanded the nobility to take arms againſt him; freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign ſtates; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, to make ſlaves of their perſons, and to convert their effects to his own uſe [r]. But tho' theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced: The pope delayed the publication, till he ſhould find an agreement with England entirely deſperate; and till the emperor, who was at preſent preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes in Germany, ſhould be in a condition to carry the ſentence into execution. CHAP. XXXI. 1535.

THE King knew, that he might expect any injury, which it ſhould be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his reſentment upon him [s]. He renewed his friendſhip with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. Theſe two princes alſo made advances to the proteſtant league in Germany, who were ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: And Henry, beſides remitting them ſome money, ſent Fox, biſhop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, lord of Langey, to treat with thoſe princes. But during the firſt fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as an union of intereſt, to be eſſential to a good correſpondence among ſtates; and tho' both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confeſſion of Auſbourg, it was looked upon as a bad ſymptom of their ſincerity, that they exerciſed ſuch extreme rigour againſt all preachers of the reformation in their reſpective dominions [t]. Henry carried the

[r] Sanders, p. 148.
[s] Herbert, p. 350, 351.
[t] Sleidan, lib. 10.

ſeint

CHAP. XXXI.

feint ſo far, that, while he thought himſelf the firſt theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon,

1535. Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, in order to confer with him, and to inſtruct him in the foundation of their tenets. Theſe theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philoſopher, even in antient Greece, where they were treated with moſt reſpect, had ever reached equal applauſe and admiration with theſe wretched compoſers of metaphyſical polemics. The German princes told the King, that they could not ſpare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with ſuch zealous diſputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not aſſociate with the diſciples of Zuinglius, becauſe, tho' they agreed in every thing elſe, they differed in ſome particulars with regard to the euchariſt, he was the more indifferent on account of this refuſal. He could alſo foreſee, that even while the league of Smalcalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their intereſt to oppoſe the emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was ſo inveterate, that he deemed himſelf ſure of a ſincere ally in one or other of theſe potentates.

1536. DURING theſe negotiations an incident happened in England, which promiſed a more amicable concluſion of theſe diſputes, and ſeemed even to open a way for a reconcilement between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was ſeized with a lingering illneſs, which at laſt

6th Jan. brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age.

Death of Queen Catherine. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very tender letter to the King; where ſhe gave him the appellation of *her moſt dear Lord, King, and Huſband.* She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, ſhe laid

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CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

hold of this laſt opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptineſs of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That tho' his fondneſs towards theſe periſhing advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himſelf much trouble, ſhe yet forgave him all paſt injuries, and hoped that this pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that ſhe had no other requeſt to make, but to recommend to him his daughter, the ſole pledge of their loves, and to crave his protection for her maids and ſervants. She concluded with theſe words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things* [u]. The King was touched, even to the ſhedding of tears, by this laſt tender proof of Catherine's affection; but Queen Anne is ſaid to have expreſſed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit [w].

THE emperor thought, that as the deceaſe of his aunt had removed all foundation for perſonal animoſity between him and Henry, it might not now be impoſſible to detach him from the alliance of France, and renew that confederacy with England from which he had formerly reaped ſo much advantage. He ſent Henry propoſals for a return to antient amity, upon theſe conditions [x]; that he ſhould be reconciled to the pope, that he ſhould aſſiſt him in his war with the Turk, and that he ſhould take party with him againſt Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The King replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided he would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendſhip came entirely from himſelf: As to the conditions propoſed; the proceedings againſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo juſt, and ſo fully ratified by the Parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when chriſ-

[u] Herbert, p. 403. [w] Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.
[x] Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. N° 50.

tian

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

tian princes ſhould have ſettled peace among themſelves, he would not fail to exert that vigour, which became him, againſt the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully reſtored, he would then be in a ſituation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to aſſiſt the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was his experience of the uſual duplicity and inſincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the preſent tranſactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, was dead without iſſue; and the emperor maintained, that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as the head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the ſtates of Italy, he profeſſed his intention of beſtowing that principality on ſome prince, who ſhould be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third ſon to Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was contented to ſubſtitute his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to cloſe with this propoſal. But his ſole intention in that liberal conceſſion was to gain time, till he ſhould put himſelf in a warlike poſture, and be able to carry an invaſion into Francis's dominions. The antient enmity between theſe princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in perſonal inſults on each other, not becoming perſons of their rank, and ſtill leſs ſuitable to men of ſuch unqueſtioned bravery. Charles ſoon after invaded Provence in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand men; but met with no ſucceſs. His army periſhed with ſickneſs, fatigue, famine, and other diſaſters; and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of

of his forces. An army of imperialiſts, near 30,000 ſtrong, which invaded France on the ſide of the Netherlands, and laid ſiege to Peronne, made no greater progreſs, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the ſatisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to ſupport himſelf without foreign aſſiſtance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enſured by theſe violent wars and animoſities on the continent. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

If any inquietude remained with the Engliſh court, it was ſolely occaſioned by the ſtate of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the diſtreſſed ſituation of his ally, Francis, very generouſly levied ſome forces; and embarking them on board veſſels, which he had hired for that purpoſe, landed them ſafely in France. He even came over in perſon; and making haſte to join the French King's camp, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulſed the emperor's invaſion, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by ſo agreeable and ſeaſonable an inſtance of friendſhip, the King of Scots made ſuit to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch, who had no other ſcruple in agreeing to the match, than what was derived from the infirm ſtate of his daughter's health, which ſeemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princeſs, and obtained her conſent, the father would no longer oppoſe the united deſires of his daughter and friend; and they were accordingly married, and ſoon after ſet ſail for Scotland, where the young Queen, as was foreſeen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, leſt his ally, Henry, whom he likewiſe looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is uſual among great princes, ſhould be diſpleaſed that this cloſe confederacy

CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

deracy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore diſpatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this meaſure; but Henry, with his uſual openneſs and freedom, expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure, that he refuſed even to confer with the ambaſſador; and Francis was apprehenſive of a rupture with a prince, who regulated his meaſures more by humour and paſſion than by the rules of political prudence. But Henry was ſo fettered by the oppoſition, in which he was engaged againſt the pope and the emperor, that he purſued no farther this diſguſt againſt Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity both on the ſide of France and Scotland.

The domeſtic peace of England ſeemed to be expoſed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing enſured public tranquillity ſo much as the deciſive authority acquired by the King, and his great aſcendant over all his ſubjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown, was profound during that age: The perſonal reſpect, inſpired by Henry, was conſiderable; and even the terrors, with which he over-awed every one, were not attended with any conſiderable degree of hatred. His frankneſs, his ſincerity, his magnificence, his generoſity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuoſity. And the important rank, which his vigour, more than addreſs, acquired him in all foreign negotiations, flattered the vanity of Engliſhmen, and made them the more willingly endure thoſe domeſtic hardſhips, to which they were expoſed. The King, conſcious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the moſt dangerous trial of his authority; and after paving the way for that meaſure by ſeveral expedients, he was at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues.

The

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

THE great encreaſe of monaſteries, if matters be conſidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other diſadvantage, attending that communion, ſeems to have an inſeparable connection with theſe religious inſtitutions. Papal uſurpations, the tyranny of the inquiſition, the multiplication of holidays; all theſe fetters on liberty and induſtry, were ultimately derived from the authority and inſinuation of monks, whoſe habitations, being eſtabliſhed, every where, proved ſo many colonies of ſuperſtition and of folly. This order of men were extremely enraged againſt Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the ſole protection which they enjoyed againſt the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now ſubjected to the King's viſitation; the ſuppoſed ſacredneſs of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progreſs of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monaſtic ſtate, gave them reaſon to expect like conſequences in England; and tho' the King ſtill maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which moſt of the convents owed their origin and ſupport, it was foreſeen, that, in the progreſs of the conteſt, he would every day be led to depart wider from antient inſtitutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political intereſts naturally induced him to ally himſelf. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the friars made uſe of all their influence to enflame the people againſt the King's government; and Henry, finding their ſafety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and utterly deſtroy his declared enemies.

CROMWEL, ſecretary of ſtate, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent, a new office, by which the King's ſupremacy, or the abſolute, uncontroulable power

CHAP. XXXI.

1536. assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellafis, and others, as commiſſioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, eſpecially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adverſaries; and as it was known, that the King's intention in this viſitation was to find a pretence for aboliſhing monaſteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commiſſioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations againſt their brethren; the ſlighteſt evidence was credited; and even the calumnies ſpread abroad by the friends to the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monſtrous diſorders are therefore ſaid to have been found in many of the religious houſes: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural luſts between perſons of the ſame ſex. It is indeed probable, that the blind ſubmiſſion of the people, during thoſe ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diſſolute, than they are in any roman catholic country at preſent: But ſtill, the reproaches, which it is ſafeſt to credit, are ſuch as point at vices, naturally connected with the very inſtitution of convents, and with the monaſtic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels therefore which the commiſſioners mentioned, are very credible, among men, who, being confined together within the ſame walls, never can forget their mutual animoſities, and who, being cut off from all the moſt endearing connections of nature, are commonly curſed with hearts more ſelfiſh, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the ſhare of other men. The pious frauds, practiſed to increaſe the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illuſions, lies, and ſuperſtition.

ſtition. The ſupine idleneſs alſo, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no queſtion; and tho' monks were the true preſervers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philoſophy of the ſchools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men, whoſe life, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raiſe the mind, or cultivate the genius. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

SOME few monaſteries, terrified with this rigorous inquiſition carried on by Cromwel and his commiſſioners, ſurrendered their revenues into the King's hands; and the monks received ſmall penſions as the reward of their obſequiouſneſs. Orders were given to diſmiſs ſuch nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, and whoſe vows were, on that account, ſuppoſed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to ſuch as were above that age; and all thoſe recovered their liberty who deſired it. But as all theſe expedients did not fully anſwer the King's purpoſe, he had recourſe to his uſual inſtrument of power, the Parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the viſitors was publiſhed, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation againſt inſtitutions which, to their anceſtors, had been the objects of the moſt profound veneration.

THE King, tho' determined to aboliſh utterly the monaſtic orders, reſolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the Parliament to go no further at preſent, than to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries, who poſſeſſed revenues below two hundred pounds a year value [y]. Theſe were found to be the moſt corrupted, as lying leſs under the reſtraint of ſhame, and being expoſed to leſs ſcrutiny [z]; and it was deemed ſafeſt to be- 4th Feb. A Parliament.

[y] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

gin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the King; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more [a]. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the King's revenue, was appointed for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from the erection of this court, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony [b].

Suppression of the lesser monasteries.

THE act formerly passed, empowering the King to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought, that the present confusion of that law encreased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance.

FARTHER progress was made in compleating the union of Wales with England: The separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the King's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished [c] this session.

THE commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the King's will, when he formerly endea-

[a] It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

[b] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

[c] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

voured

voured to ſecure the profits of wardſhips and liveries, were now contented to frame a law [d], ſuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the poſſeſſion of land ſhall be adjudged to be in thoſe who have the uſe of it, not in thoſe to whom it is transferred in truſt. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

AFTER all theſe laws were paſſed, the King diſſolved the Parliament; a Parliament memorable, not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but alſo for the long time it had ſat, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it ſo obſequious to his will, that he did not chuſe, during theſe religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the ſame Parliament above ſix years: A practice, at that time, unuſual in England. 14 April.

THE convocation, which ſat during this ſeſſion, were engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new tranſlation which was projected of the ſcriptures. Tindal had formerly given a tranſlation, and it had been greedily read by the people; but as the clergy complained of it, as very inaccurate and unfaithful, it was now propoſed to them that they ſhould themſelves publiſh a tranſlation, which would not be liable to thoſe objections. The friends of the reformation aſſerted, that nothing could be more abſurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word itſelf of God, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpoſe of univerſal ſalvation, had publiſhed that ſalutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice was not very abſurd, the artifice at leaſt was very barefaced, and proved a conſciouſneſs, that the gloſſes and traditions of the clergy ſtood in direct oppoſition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now neceſſary for the people, ſo long abuſed by intereſted pretenſions, to ſee with their A convocation.

[d] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the eccleſiaſtics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that as a ſpirit of reſearch and curioſity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the pretenſions of different ſects, the proper materials for deciſion, and above all, the holy ſcriptures, ſhould be ſet before them, and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had ſomewhat obſcured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

THE favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people ſee with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itſelf a very barefaced artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and ſeduce them from thoſe paſtors, whom the laws, whom ancient eſtabliſhments, whom heaven itſelf had appointed for their ſpiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their ſtupidity, their neceſſary avocations, totally unqualified to chooſe their own principles, and it was a mockery to ſet materials before them, of which they could not poſſibly make any proper uſe: That even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compaſs of human reaſon, the laws had, in a great meaſure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily, for their own and the public intereſt, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological queſtions were placed much beyond the ſphere of vulgar comprehenſion; and eccleſiaſtics themſelves, tho' aſſiſted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an aſſiduous ſtudy of the ſcience, could not be fully aſſured of a juſt deciſion; except by the promiſe made them in ſcripture, that God would be ever preſent with his church, and that the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt her: That the groſs errors adopted

adopted by the wiſeſt heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way, thro' this profound darkneſs; nor would the ſcriptures, if truſted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, theſe fatal illuſions: That ſacred writ itſelf was involved in ſo much obſcurity, was expoſed to ſo many difficulties, contained ſo many appearing contradictions, that it was the moſt dangerous weapon which could be intruſted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical ſpirit, in which a great part of it was compoſed, at the ſame time that it occaſioned uncertainty in the ſenſe, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was ſufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticiſm, and thereby throw civil ſociety into the moſt furious combuſtion: That a thouſand ſects muſt ariſe, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the ſcripture; and would be able, by ſpecious arguments, or even without ſpecious arguments, to ſeduce ſilly women, and ignorant mechanics, into a belief of the moſt monſtrous principles: And that if ever this diſorder, dangerous to the magiſtrate himſelf, received a remedy, it muſt be from the tacit acquieſcence of the people in ſome new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther conteſt or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more ſecure eſtabliſhments.

THESE latter arguments being more agreeable to eccleſiaſtical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and ſome other biſhops, who were ſuppoſed to ſpeak the King's ſenſe of the matter. A vote was paſſed for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and in three years time this great work was finiſhed, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers; and a conſiderable ad-

CHAP. XXXI.

vancement of their cauſe. Farther progreſs was ſoon expected, after ſuch important ſucceſſes.

1536. But while the retainers to the new religion were triumphing in their proſperity, they met with a mortification, which ſeemed to blaſt all their hopes: Their patroneſs, Anne Boleyn, loſt the King's favour, and ſoon after her life, from the rage of that furious monarch. Diſgrace of Q. Anne. Henry had perſevered conſtantly in his love to this lady, during ſix years that his proſecution of the divorce laſted; and the more obſtacles he met with to the gratification of his paſſion, the more determined zeal did he exert in purſuing his purpoſe. But the affection which had ſubſiſted ſo long under difficulties, had no ſooner attained ſecure poſſeſſion of its object, than it languiſhed from ſatiety; and the King's heart was apparently alienated from his conſort. Anne's enemies ſoon perceived this fatal change; and they were very forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interpoſing in thoſe delicate concerns. She had brought forth a dead ſon; and Henry's extreme fondneſs for male iſſue being thus, for the preſent, diſappointed, his temper, equally violent and ſuperſtitious, was diſpoſed to make the innocent mother anſwerable for this misfortune [e]. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the King againſt her, was his jealouſy.

Anne, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaity, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her leſs circumſpect than her ſituation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to theſe freedoms; and it was with difficulty ſhe conformed herſelf to that ſtrict ceremonial

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

which

which was practiſed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, ſhe was pleaſed to ſee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and ſhe indulged herſelf in an eaſy familiarity with perſons, who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendſhip and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with theſe popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the huſband poſſeſſed but too quick diſcernment and penetration. Wicked inſtruments interpoſed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmleſs liberties of the Queen: The viſcounteſs of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the Queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her ſiſter-in-law, inſinuated the moſt cruel ſuſpicions into the King's mind; and as ſhe was a woman of a very profligate character, ſhe paid no regard either to truth or humanity in thoſe calumnies which ſhe ſuggeſted. She pretended, that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and not contented with this imputation, ſhe poiſoned every action of the Queen, and repreſented each inſtance of favour which ſhe conferred on any one, as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton, and Brereton, gentlemen of the King's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the Queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The King's jealouſy laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance; and finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it vented itſelf equally on every one who came within the verge of its fury.

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

HAD Henry's jealouſy been derived from love, though it might on a ſudden have proceeded to the moſt violent

CHAP. XXXI.

1536. extremities, it would have been ſubject to many remorſes and contrarieties; and might at laſt have ſerved only to augment that affection, on which it was founded. But it was a more ſtern jealouſy, foſtered entirely by pride: His love was wholly transferred to another object. Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the Queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moſt monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damſels of their court rather honoured than diſgraced by their paſſion, he ſeldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties and committed greater crimes than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the deſign of raiſing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion, which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

1ſt May. THE King's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the Queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably caſual, but interpreted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours[g]. He immediately retired from the place; ſent orders to confine her to her chamber; arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into priſon. The Queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and ſhe prepared herſelf for that melancholy doom, which

[g] Burnet, vol. i. p. 198.

was

was awaiting her. Next day, ſhe was ſent to the Tower; and on her way thither, ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had been hitherto ignorant: She made earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon, ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her ſurprize and confuſion threw her into hiſterical diſorders; and in that ſituation, ſhe thought that the beſt proof of innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe diſcovered ſome indiſcretions and levities, which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned, that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him, that he probably expected her, when ſhe ſhould be a widow: She had reproved Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her, that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf: Upon which, ſhe defied him [h]. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice when he played on the harpſichord: But ſhe acknowledged, that he had once had the boldneſs to tell her, that a look ſufficed him. The King, inſtead of being ſatisfied with the candour and ſincerity of her confeſſion, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

Of all thoſe multitudes, whom the beneficence of the Queen's temper had obliged, during her proſperous fortune, no one durſt interpoſe between her and the King's fury; and the perſon, whoſe advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had ſmiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party

[h] Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

to

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

to the ties of blood, was become her moſt dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped, that her death would terminate the King's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to ſupport the moſt intimate connexions with the apoſtolic ſee. Cranmer alone, of all the Queen's adherents, ſtill retained his friendſhip for her; and, as far as the King's impetuoſity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices, entertained againſt her.

THE Queen herſelf wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the moſt tender expoſtulations, and of the warmeſt proteſtations of innocence. It contains ſo much nature and even elegance, as to deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity, without any alteration of the expreſſion. It is as follows.

"SIR, your grace's diſpleaſure and my impriſonment "are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or "what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas "you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo "obtain your favour) by ſuch an one, whom you know "to be mine antient profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner re-"ceived this meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived "your meaning; and, if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth "indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all wil-"lingneſs and duty perform your command.

"BUT let not your grace ever imagine, that your "poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, "where not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. "And to ſpeak a truth, never prince had wife more "loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you "have ever found in Anne Boleyn: With which name "and place I could willingly have contented myſelf,

"if

" if God and your grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.
" Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my
" exaltation or received queenſhip, but that I always
" looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find; for the
" ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation
" than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew
" was fit and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other
" object. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be
" your Queen and companion, far beyond my deſert or
" deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour,
" good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad coun-
" ſel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour
" from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain,
" of a diſloyal heart towards your good grace, ever caſt
" ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, and the in-
" fant-princeſs your daughter. Try me, good King,
" but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn
" enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea let me
" receive an open trial, for my truth ſhall fear no open
" ſhame; then ſhall you ſee either mine innocence
" cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the
" ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my
" guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or
" you may determine of me, your grace may be freed
" from an open cenſure, and mine offence being ſo
" lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before
" God and man, not only to execute worthy puniſh-
" ment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your
" affection, already ſettled on that party, for whoſe ſake
" I am now as I am, whoſe name I could ſome good
" while ſince have pointed unto, your grace not being
" ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

" But if you have already determined of me, and
" that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander muſt
" bring

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

" bring you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs; " then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great " ſin therein, and likewiſe mine enemies, the inſtruments " thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict ac- " count for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at " his general judgment-ſeat, where both you and my- " ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgment I " doubt not (whatſoever the world may think of me) " mine innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently " cleared.

" My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may " only bear the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and " that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor " gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in " ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found " favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn " hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let me obtain " this requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your grace " any further, with mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity " to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct " you in all your actions. From my doleful priſon in " the Tower, this ſixth of May;

" Your moſt loyal
" and ever faithful wife,
ANNE BOLEYN.

THIS letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced againſt them. The chief proof of their guilt conſiſted in a hear-ſay report from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hope of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpon-

Her trial.

dence

dence with the Queen[1]; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confeſſion: For they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were alſo Brereton and Weſton. Norris had been much in the King's favour; and an offer was made him of life, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe the Queen: But he generouſly rejected that propoſal; and ſaid, that in his conſcience he believed her entirely guiltleſs: But, for his part, he could accuſe her of nothing, and he would die a thouſand deaths rather than calumniate an innocent perſon. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

THE Queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, conſiſting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preſided as lord high ſteward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of inceſt was imputed to them is unknown: The chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge againſt her was, that ſhe had affirmed to her minions, that the King never had her heart; and had ſaid to each of them apart, that ſhe loved him better than any perſon whatſoever: *Which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begot between the King and her*: By this ſtrained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the ſtatute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any ſlander upon the King, Queen, or their iſſue. Such palpable abſurdities were, at that time, admitted, and they were regarded by the peers of England as a ſufficient reaſon for ſacrificing an innocent Queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unaſſiſted by counſel, ſhe defended herſelf with great judgment and preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however,

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

was

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

was given by the court, both againſt the Queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the King's pleaſure. When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O! Father, O! Creator, thou who art the way, the "truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not "deſerved this death." And then turning to the judges, made the moſt pathetic declarations of her innocence.

HENRY, not ſatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was reſolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate: He recalled to his memory, that, a little after her appearance in the Engliſh court, ſome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now queſtioned the nobleman with regard to theſe engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbiſhops, that no contract nor promiſe of marriage had ever paſſed between them: He received the ſacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this ſolemn act he accompanied with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of his veracity [k]. The Queen, however, was ſhaken by menaces of executing the ſentence againſt her in its greateſt rigour, and was prevailed on to confeſs in court, ſome lawful impediment to her marriage with the King [l]. The afflicted primate, who ſat as judge, thought himſelf obliged by this confeſſion, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the tranſports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconſiſtent, and that if her marriage was, from the beginning, invalid, ſhe could not poſſibly be guilty of adultery.

[k] Herbert, p. 384. [l] Heylin, p. 94.

THE

CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

THE Queen now prepared for ſuffering that death to which ſhe was ſentenced. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the King, and acknowledged the obligations which ſhe owed him, in continuing thus uniformly his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven: She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with chearfulneſs. "The executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very ſlender:" Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and laughed heartily. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obſtinacy of Queen Catherine, and her reſiſtance to the King's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary; and her maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation, which the unjuſt ſentence, by which ſhe ſuffered, naturally excited in her. She ſaid, that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced, by the law: She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince, and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt[m]. She was beheaded by the executioner

And execution.

19th May.

[m] Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

of

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

of Calais, who was brought over as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

THE innocence of this unfortunate Queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuſe as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four perſons more, he was able to bring proof againſt none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct forbids us to aſcribe to her an abandoned character, ſuch as is implied in the King's accuſation; and had ſhe been ſo loſt to all prudence and ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf to detection, and afforded her enemies the cleareſt evidence againſt her. But the King made the moſt effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution[n]. His impatience to gratify this new paſſion, cauſed him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not ſoftened a moment by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon, who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affections.

THE lady Mary thought the death of her ſtep-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herſelf with the King, who, beſides other cauſes of diſguſt, had been offended with her, on account of the part which ſhe had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at firſt received; and Henry exacted from her ſome further proofs of ſubmiſſion and obedience: He required this young princeſs, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his ſupremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be inceſtuous and unlawful. Theſe points

[n] Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.

were

were of hard digeſtion with the princeſs; but after ſome delays, and even refuſals, ſhe was at laſt prevailed with to write a letter to her father °, containing her aſſent to the articles required of her: Upon which ſhe was received into favour. But notwithſtanding the return of the King's affection to the iſſue of his firſt marriage, he diveſted not himſelf of kindneſs towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new Queen, who was bleſt with a ſingular ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, diſcovered ſtrong proofs of attachment to that young princeſs. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

THE trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the ſubſequent events, made it neceſſary for the King to ſummon a new Parliament; and he here, in his ſpeech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithſtanding his misfortunes in his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The ſpeaker received this profeſſion with ſuitable gratitude; and he took thence occaſion to praiſe the King for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for juſtice and prudence, to Solomon; for ſtrength and fortitude to Sampſon; and for beauty and comelineſs to Abſalom. The King very humbly replied, by the mouth of his chancellor, that he diſavowed theſe praiſes; ſince, if he was really poſſeſſed of ſuch virtues, they were the gifts of Almighty God only. Henry found that the Parliament were equally ſubmiſſive in deeds as complaiſant in their expreſſions, and that they would go the ſame lengths as the former in gratifying even his moſt lawleſs paſſions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; that Queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted; the iſſue of both the two former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treaſon to aſſert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any ſlander upon 8th June. A Parliament.

° Burnet, vol. i. p. 207. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

the preſent King, Queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the ſame penalty; the crown was ſettled on the King's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife; and in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was impowered by his will, or letters patent, to diſpoſe of the crown: An enormous conceſſion [P], eſpecially when entruſted to a prince ſo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever being required, refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any article of this act of ſettlement, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; and by this clauſe a ſpecies of political inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, as well as the accuſations of treaſon multiplied to an unreaſonable degree. The King was alſo empowered to confer on any one, by his will, or letters patent, any caſtles, honours, liberties, or franchiſes; words which might have been extended to the diſmembring the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independant juriſdictions. It was alſo, by another act, made treaſon to marry, without the King's conſent, any princeſs related in the firſt degree to the crown. This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of a deſign, formed by Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, to eſpouſe the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the King by his ſiſter the Queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty ſoon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder paſſed againſt him this ſeſſion of parliament.

A NEW acceſſion was likewiſe gained to the authority of the crown: The King or any of his ſucceſſors was

[P] The King is thought to have had a deſign of leaving the crown, in caſe of the failure of his lawful male iſſue, to his favourite ſon, the duke of Richmond. But the death of that promiſing nobleman, which happened ſoon after, diſappointed all projects in his favour. Heylin, p. 6.

empowered

empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever acts of parliament had been paſſed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the biſhop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to reſtore it in England, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of the laws. And any perſon who poſſeſſed any office, eccleſiaſtical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown; and yet refuſed to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treaſon. The renounciation preſcribed runs in the ſtyle of *So help me God, all ſaints, and the holy evangeliſts*[q]. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's diſgrace and death, hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making ſome advances to Henry: But this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become abſolutely indifferent with regard to papal cenſures; and finding a great increaſe of authority, as well as revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perſevere in his preſent meaſures. This Parliament alſo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects, and what confidence he might repoſe in them. Tho' the elections had been made of a ſudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members diſcovered an unlimited attachment to his perſon and government[r].

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

THE extreme complaiſance of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the Parliament, encouraged him in his reſolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was a diviſion of ſentiments in the minds of this aſſembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by ſome late ſucceſſes, the reſentment

A convocation.

[q] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10. [r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

CHAP. XXXI.

1536. of the catholics was no leſs excited by their fears and loſſes: But the authority of the King kept every one ſubmiſſive and ſilent; and the new-aſſumed prerogative, the ſupremacy, whoſe limits no one was fully acquainted with, reſtrained even the moſt furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwel ſat as vicar-general; and tho' the catholic party expected, that, on the fall of Queen Anne, his authority would receive a great check, they were ſurprized to find him ſtill maintain equal credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The oppoſite party were led by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle. The former party, by their oppoſition to the pope, ſeconded the King's ambition and love of power: The latter party, by maintaining the antient theological tenets, were more conformable to his ſpeculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of theſe motives.

THE church in general was averſe to the reformation; and the lower houſe of convocation framed a liſt of opinions, in the whole ſixty-ſeven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, ſome held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern proteſtants, or Goſpellers, as they were ſometimes called. This catalogue they ſent to the upper houſe to be cenſured; but in the preamble of their repreſentation, they diſcovered the ſervile ſpirit by which they were governed. They ſaid, "that they intended not "to do or ſpeak any thing which might be unpleaſant to "the King, whom they acknowledge their ſupreme head, "and

" and whoſe commands they were reſolved to obey; re- CHAP. XXXI.
" nouncing the pope's uſurped authority, with all his
" laws and inventions, now extinguiſhed and aboliſhed; 1536.
" and addicting themſelves to Almighty God and his
" laws, and unto the King and the laws made within
" this kingdom [s]."

THE convocation came at laſt, after ſome debate, to decide articles of religion; and their tenets were of as compounded a nature as the aſſembly itſelf, or rather as the King's ſyſtem of theology, by which they were reſolved entirely to ſquare their principles. They determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers: Auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared. The real preſence was aſſerted, conformable to the antient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitable to the new principles.

So far the two ſects ſeem to have made a fair partition, by ſharing alternately the ſeveral clauſes. In framing the ſubſequent articles, each of them ſeems to have thrown in their ingredient. The catholics prevailed in aſſerting, that the uſe of images was warranted by Scripture; the proteſtants, in warning the people againſt idolatry, and the abuſe of theſe ſenſible repreſentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expediency of praying to ſaints; the late innovations in

[s] Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, the ceremonies practised on Ash-wednesday, Palm-sunday, and Good-friday, &c. were still maintained; but the new refinements were also adopted, which made light of these institutions, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

But the article with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose: "Since according to due order of charity, and "the book of Maccabees, and divers antient authors, it "is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls "departed; and since such a practice has been main- "tained in the church from the beginning; all bishops "and teachers should instruct the people not to be "grieved for the continuance of the same. But since "the place where departed souls are retained, before "they reach Paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, "is left uncertain by Scripture; all such questions are "to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and "convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he "accepteth our prayers for them [t]."

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the King, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except the King himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For though there be not any contradiction in the tenets here advanced, it had

[t] Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & seq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

happ-

happened in England, as in all other ſtates where factious diviſions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and theſe conſiſted only of ſpeculative or whimſical people, of whom two perſons could ſcarce be brought to an agreement in the ſame dogmas. The proteſtants, all of them, carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than theſe articles: None of the catholics went ſo far: And the King, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium, diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm, of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when ſeconded by a party, is one of the moſt perilous enterprizes, which any ſovereign can attempt, and often proves the moſt deſtructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to ſet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even ſtop its career: He could ſay to it, thus far ſhalt thou go and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his ſmalleſt caprices; nay, to his moſt refined and moſt ſcholaſtic ſubtilties.

THE concurrence of theſe two national aſſemblies ſerved, no doubt, to increaſe the King's power among the people, and raiſed him to an authority more abſolute, than any prince, in a ſimple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent danger to which all the reſt were expoſed [u], had

[u] A propoſal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leſſer monaſteries; and had been much oppoſed by biſhop Fiſher, who was then alive. He told his brethren, that this was fairly

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CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

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CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

had bred diſcontent in the people, and diſpoſed them to a revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both men's piety and compaſſion; and as the antient religion laid hold of the populace by powerful motives, ſuited to their capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to excite the ſtrongeſt zeal in its favour [x]. Diſcontents had even reached ſome of the nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded the monaſteries, and who placed a vanity in thoſe inſtitutions, as well as reaped ſome benefit from them, by the proviſions, which they afforded them for their younger children. The more ſuperſtitious were intereſted in the fate of their forefathers ſouls, which, they believed, muſt now lye, during many ages, in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. It ſeemed unjuſt to aboliſh pious inſtitutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the moſt moderate and reaſonable thought it ſomewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a courſe of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, ſhould be turned out of their poſſeſſions, and ſo little care be taken of their future ſubſiſtance. And when it was

Diſcontents among the people.

fairly ſhowing the King the way, how he might come at the greater monaſteries. "An ax, which wanted a handle, came upon a time into "the wood, making his moan to the great trees, that he wanted a handle "to work withal, and for that cauſe he was conſtrained to ſit idle; "therefore he made it his requeſt to them, that they would be pleaſed "to grant him one of their ſmall ſaplings within the wood to make him "a handle; who, miſtruſting no guile, granted him one of their ſmaller "trees to make him a handle. But now becoming a compleat ax, he "fell ſo to work, within the ſame wood, that, in proceſs of time, there "was neither great nor ſmall trees to be found in the place, where "the wood ſtood. And ſo, my lords, if you grant the King theſe "ſmaller monaſteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby, at his "own pleaſure, he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons." Dr. Bailie's life of biſhop Fiſher, p. 108.

[x] Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

obſerved,

obſerved, that the rapacity and bribery of the commiſſioners and others employed in viſiting the monaſteries, intercepted much of the profits reſulting from theſe confiſcations, it tended much to increaſe the general diſcontent [y].

But the people did not break out into open ſedition, till the complaints of the ſecular clergy concurred with thoſe of the regular. As Cromwel's perſon was very little acceptable to the eccleſiaſtics; the authority, which he exerciſed, being ſo new, ſo abſolute, ſo unlimited, inſpired them with great diſguſt and terror. He publiſhed, in the King's name, without the conſent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance, by which he retrenched a great many of the antient holydays; prohibited ſeveral ſuperſtitions, gainful to the clergy, ſuch as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the pariſhes to ſet apart a conſiderable portion of their revenues for repairs and for the ſupport of exhibitioners and the poor of their pariſh. The ſecular prieſts, finding themſelves thus reduced to a grievous ſlavery, inſtilled into the people thoſe diſcontents, which they had long harboured in their own boſoms.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was diſguiſed like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men [z]; but notwithſtanding their number, they ſhowed little diſpoſition of proceeding to extremities againſt the King, and ſeemed ſtill over-awed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be ſupreme head of the church of England; but they complained of his ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, of evil counſellers, of men

Inſurrection.

[y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert,

of

CHAP. XXXI.

1536. of mean birth entruſted by him, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were expoſed: And they prayed him to conſult the nobility of the realm concerning the redreſs of theſe grievances[a]. The King was little diſpoſed to entertain apprehenſions of danger, eſpecially from a low multitude, whom he deſpiſed. He ſent forces againſt the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very ſharp anſwer to their petition. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had forced to take party with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that reſentment againſt the King's reply was the chief cauſe, which retained the malecontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably diſſipate the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought, that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhow them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace were diſſipated: Mackrel and ſome of their leaders fell into the King's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations: A few of the more obſtinate fled into the North, where they joined the inſurrection, that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

6th of October.

THE northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were alſo more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire, becauſe the people in thoſe parts were more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of the near neighbourhood to Scotland, which might make advantage of theſe diſorders. One Aſke, a gentleman, had taken the command of

[a] Herbert, p. 410.

them,

CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprize they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Some prieſts marched before in the habits of their order, carrying croſſes in their hands: In their banners was wove a crucifix, with the repreſentation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Chriſt[b]: They wore on their ſleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jeſus wrought in the midſt: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive, than their love to God, their care of the King's perſon and iſſue, their deſire of purifying the nobility, of driving baſe-born perſons from about the King, of reſtoring the church, and of ſuppreſſing hereſy. Allured by theſe fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, and thoſe northern provinces, flocked to their ſtandard; and their zeal, no leſs than their numbers, inſpired the court with apprehenſions.

THE earl of Shrewſbury, moved by his regard for the King's ſervice, raiſed forces, though at firſt without any commiſſion, in order to oppoſe the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulſed them from his caſtle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborow-caſtle againſt them[c]: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the King's couſin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They laid ſiege to Pomfret caſtle, into which the archbiſhop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themſelves. It was ſoon ſurrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who ſecretly favoured the cauſe, ſeemed to yield to the force impoſed on them, and joined the rebels.

[b] Fox, vol. ii. p. 992. [c] Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

THE

CHAP. XXXI.

1536. The duke of Norfolk was named general in chief of the King's forces againſt the northern rebels; and as he headed the party, which ſupported the antient religion, he was alſo ſuſpected of bearing ſome favour to the cauſe, which he was ſent to oppoſe. His prudent conduct, however, ſeems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped at Doncaſter, together with the earl of Shrewſbury; and as his army was ſmall, ſcarce exceeding five thouſand men, he made choice of a poſt, where he had the river in front, the ford of which he propoſed to defend againſt the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night, there fell ſuch violent rains as rendered the river utterly impaſſible; and Norfolk very wiſely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he ſent them a herald; whom Aſke, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himſelf ſitting in a chair of ſtate, with the archbiſhop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen ſhould be diſpatched to the King with propoſals from the rebels; and Henry protracted giving an anſwer, and allured them with hopes of entire ſatisfaction, in expectation that neceſſity would ſoon oblige them to diſperſe themſelves. Being informed, that his artifice had in a great meaſure ſucceeded, he required them inſtantly to lay down their arms and ſubmit to mercy; promiſing a pardon to all except ſix whom he named, and four whom he reſerved to himſelf the power of naming. But tho' the greateſt part of the rebels had gone home for want of ſubſiſtence, they had entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements to return to their ſtandards, in caſe the King's anſwer ſhould not prove ſatisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, ſoon found himſelf in the ſame difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude.

He

CHAP. XXXI.

1536.

He engaged them to ſend three hundred perſons to Doncaſter, with propoſals for an accommodation; and he hoped to be able, by intrigue and ſeparate intereſts, to throw diſſention among ſo great a number. Aſke himſelf had propoſed to be one of the deputies, and he required a hoſtage for his ſecurity: But the King, when conſulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other, whom he eſteemed ſo little as to put him in pledge for ſuch a villain. The demands of the inſurgents were ſo exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the conteſt by force of arms. They were as formidable as ever both by their numbers and ſpirit; and notwithſtanding a ſmall river, which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reaſon to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to paſs the ford, rain fell a ſecond time in ſuch abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their deſign; and the populace, partly reduced to neceſſity by the want of proviſions, partly ſtruck with ſuperſtition at being thus again diſappointed by the ſame accident, ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the diſperſion, by the promiſe of a general amneſty; and the King ratified this act of clemency. He publiſhed, however, a manifeſto againſt the rebels, and an anſwer to their complaints; where he employed a very lofty ſtyle, ſuited to ſo haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with "our whole council, think it right ſtrange, that ye, "who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon "you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our "council."

9th of December.

As

CHAP. XXXI.

1537. As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to go into the northern parts, in order to exact a general ſubmiſſion. Lord Darcy as well as Aſke were ſent for to court; and the former, upon his refuſal or delay to appear, was thrown into priſon. Every place was full of jealouſy and complaints. A new inſurrection broke out, headed by Muſgrave and Tilby; and the rebels beſieged Carliſle with 8000 men. Being repulſed by that town, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made priſoners of all their officers, except Muſgrave, who eſcaped, he inſtantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of ſeventy perſons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to ſurprize Hull, met with no better ſucceſs; and ſeveral other riſings were ſuppreſſed by the viligance of Norfolk. The King, enraged by theſe multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon, which he had granted; and from a movement of his uſual violence, he made the innocent ſuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his maſter, ſpread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the puniſhment of offenders. Beſides Aſke, leader of the firſt inſurrection, Sir Robert Conſtable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into priſon; and moſt of them were condemned and executed. Lord Huſſey was found guilty as an accomplice in the inſurrection of Lincolnſhire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulſion, and appealed, for his juſtification, to a long life, paſſed in the ſervice of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accuſed Norfolk of having ſecretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either ſenſible

CHAP. XXXI.

1537.

ſenſible of that nobleman's great ſervices and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of ſuch extenſive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now ſatiated with puniſhing the rebels, he publiſhed anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered [d]; and he erected by patent a court of juſtice at York, for deciding law-ſuits to the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the inſurgents.

12 October. Birth of prince Edward, and death of Q. Jane.

Soon after this proſperous ſucceſs, an event happened, which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a ſon, who was baptiſed under the name of Edward. Yet was not this happineſs complete: The Queen died two days after [e]. But a ſon had ſo long been ardently longed for by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the ſucceſſive illegitimation of the two Princeſſes, that the King's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expreſſed great ſatisfaction on this occaſion. The Prince, not ſix days old, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Cheſter. Sir Edward Seymour, the Queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz Williams, high admiral, was created Earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; Sir John Ruſſel, Lord Ruſſel.

1538.

The ſuppreſſion of the rebellion and the birth of a ſon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, encreaſed his conſideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on, with varied ſucceſs, and without any deciſive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to

[d] Herbert, p. 428. [e] Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

CHAP. XXXI.

1538. incur, without neceſſity, either hazard or expence in his behalf. A truce, concluded about this time, between theſe potentates, and which was afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of Europe.

HENRY was very deſirous of cementing an union with the German proteſtants; and for that purpoſe, he ſent Chriſtopher Mount to a congreſs which they held at Brunſwick; but that miniſter made no great progreſs in his negotiations. The princes deſired to know, what were the articles in their confeſſion which Henry diſliked; and they ſent new ambaſſadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to diſpute. They endeavoured to convince the King, that he was guilty of a miſtake, in adminiſtering the euchariſt in one kind only, in allowing of private maſſes, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy [a]. Henry would by no means acknowlege any error in theſe particulars; and was offended that they ſhould pretend to preſcribe rules to ſo great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and ſyllogiſms enough to defend his cauſe; and he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors without coming to any concluſion. Jealous alſo leſt his own ſubjects ſhould become ſuch theologians as to queſtion his tenets, he uſed great precaution in publiſhing that tranſlation of the ſcripture, which was finiſhed this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be depoſited in each pariſh church, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, "but of his goodneſs and his liberality to them; who "therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the encreaſe of "virtue, not of ſtrife: And he ordered that no man "ſhould read the Bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt,

[a] Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

"while

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

"while he ſang maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful "places, without advice from the learned." In this meaſure, as in the reſt, he ſtill halted half way between the catholics and the proteſtants.

Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries.

THERE was only one particular, in which Henry was quite deciſive, becauſe he was there impelled by his avarice, or more properly ſpeaking, his rapacity, occaſioned by profuſeneſs: This meaſure was the intire deſtruction of the monaſteries. The preſent opportunity ſeemed favourable for that great enterprize; while the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion fortified and encreaſed the royal authority; and as ſome of the abbots were ſuſpected of having encouraged the inſurrection, and of correſponding with the rebels, the King's reſentment was farther incited by that motive. A new viſitation was appointed of all the monaſteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their ſuppreſſion, it was eaſy for a prince, poſſeſſed of ſuch exorbitant power, and ſeconding the preſent humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger, to which they were expoſed; and having learned, by the example of the leſſer monaſteries, that nothing could withſtand the King's will, they were moſt of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary reſignation of their houſes. Where promiſes failed of effect, menaces and even extreme violence were employed; and as ſeveral of the abbots, ſince the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the King's intentions were the more eaſily effectuated. Some alſo, having ſecretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the deſign was conducted with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in leſs than two years, the King had got poſſeſſion of all the monaſtic revenues.

CHAP. XXXI.

1538.

In ſeveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great intereſt was made to preſerve ſome convents of women, who, as they lived in the moſt irreproachable manner, juſtly merited, it was thought, that their houſes ſhould be ſaved from the general deſtruction [b]. There appeared alſo great difference between the caſe of nuns and friars; and the one inſtitution might be very laudable, while the other was expoſed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with induſtry, might be of ſervice to the public; and none of them could want employment, ſuited to his ſtation and capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a ſettlement in the married ſtate, an accident to which ſuch perſons were more liable than women of lower ſtation, had really no rank which ſhe properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her ſituation. But the King was determined to aboliſh monaſteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that theſe antient eſtabliſhments would be the ſooner forgot, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to ſubſiſt in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, ſtories were publiſhed of the deteſtable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame thoſe whom the court was determined to ruin. The reliques alſo, and ſuperſtitions, which had ſo long been the object of the people's veneration, were expoſed to their ridicule; and the religious ſpirit, now leſs bent on exterior obſervances and ſenſible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needleſs to be particular in ſuch an enumeration: Proteſtant hiſtorians mention on this occaſion with great triumph the ſacred repoſitories of convents; the parings of

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

St.

St. Edmond's toes; ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin ſhown in eleven ſeveral places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, an infallible cure for the headach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; ſome reliques, an excellent preventive againſt rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But ſuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the moſt refined periods of antiquity, form no peculiar nor violent reproach on the catholic religion. CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

THERE were alſo diſcovered, or ſaid to be diſcovered, in the monaſteries ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, had been ſhown, during ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt brought from Jeruſalem; and it is eaſy to imagine the veneration, with which ſuch a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumſtance alſo attended this miraculous relique; the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to him. At the diſſolution of the monaſtery, the whole contrivance was diſcovered. Two of the monks, who were let into the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it into a phial, one ſide of which conſiſted of thin and tranſparent chryſtal, the other of thick and obſcure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhow him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, near exhauſted, they made him happy by turning the phial [c].

[c] Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.

CHAP. XXXI.

1538. A MIRACULOUS crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol of Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn fryar Forest [d], who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew's, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the King's commissioners refused to release the pawn, people made themselves very merry with the poor creditor, on account of his security.

BUT of all the instruments of antient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence, which he had made for the apostolic see; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberless were the miracles, which, they pretended, his reliques wrought on his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day, on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holyday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion to-

[d] Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

wards him had quite effaced in that town the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for inſtance, there was offered in one year three pounds two ſhillings and ſix-pence; at the Virgin's, ſixty-three pounds five ſhillings and ſix-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and three-pence. But next year, the diſproportion was ſtill greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one ſhilling and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got for his ſhare nine hundred and fifty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and three-pence [e]. Lewis the ſeventh of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had beſtowed on the ſhrine a jewel, which was eſteemed the richeſt in Chriſtendom. It is obvious, how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how much contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine, dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the ſaint himſelf be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office for his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; and his bones to be burned, and the aſhes to be diſſipated. CHAR. XXXI. 1538.

On the whole, the King, at different times, ſuppreſſed ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds [f]. It is worthy of obſervation, that all the lands and poſſeſſions of Eng-

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 244. [f] Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.

CHAP. XXXI.

1538.

land had, a little before this period, been rated at three millions a year; ſo that the revenues of the monaſteries did not really much exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A ſum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents, were uſually let at very low leaſes; and the farmers, who regarded themſelves as a ſpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leaſes before they expired [g].

GREAT

g There is a curious paſſage, with regard to the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, to be found in Coke's Inſtitutes, 4 Inſt. chap. 1. p. 44. It is worth tranſcribing, as it ſhews the ideas of the Engliſh government, entertained during the reign of Henry the eighth, and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Inſtitutes. It clearly appears, that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were deſirous of making the crown quite independent, and wiſhed only to remove from themſelves, as much as poſſible, the burthens of government. A large ſtanding army, and a fixed revenue, would, on theſe conditions, have been regarded as great bleſſings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little ſuſpicion, that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the Engliſh owe all their liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plauſible Projects and Offers in Parliament.* "When any plauſible pro-"ject," ſays he, "is made in parliament, to draw the lords and commons "to aſſent to any act, (eſpecially in matters of weight and importance) "if both houſes do give upon the matter projected and promiſed their "conſent, it ſhall be moſt neceſſary, they being truſted for the common-"wealth, to have the matter projected and promiſed (which moved "the houſes to conſent) to be eſtabliſhed in the ſame act, leaſt the be-"nefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promiſed never "performed, and ſo the houſes of parliament perform not the truſt re-"poſed in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the "reign of Henry the eighth: On the King's behalf, the members of "both houſes were informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom "was ſafe, but where the King had three abilities; 1. To live of his "own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any ſudden invaſion or "inſurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwiſe they would "never aſſiſt him. 3. To reward his well-deſerving ſervants. Now "the project was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the "abbies, priories, friories, nunneries, and other monaſteries, that,

"for

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

GREAT murmurs were every where excited againſt theſe violences; and men much queſtioned, whether priors and monks, who were only truſtees or tenants for life, could by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the King the entire property of their eſtates. In order to reconcile the people to ſuch mighty innovations, they were told, that the King would never henceforth have occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of the government [h]. While ſuch topics were employed to pacify the populace, the King took an effectual method of engaging the nobility and gentry to take part with his meaſures [i]: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He was ſo profuſe in theſe liberalities, that he is ſaid to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding, which happened to gratify his palate [k]. He alſo ſettled ſalaries on the abbots and

" for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the ſame " ſhould not be converted to private uſes: but firſt, that his exchequer " for the purpoſes aforeſaid ſhould be enriched; ſecondly, the king- " dom ſtrengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thouſand well- " trained ſoldiers, with ſkilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for " the benefit and eaſe of the ſubject, who never afterwards, (as was " projected) in any time to come, ſhould be charged with ſubſidies, " fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, leaſt the honour " of the realm ſhould receive any diminution of honour by the diſſo- " lution of the ſaid monaſteries, there being twenty-nine lords of par- " liament of the abbots and priors, (that held of the King *per baro-* " *niam*, whereof more in the next leaf) that the King would create a " number of nobles, which we omit. The ſaid monaſteries were given " to the King by authority of divers acts of parliament, but no pro- " viſion was therein made for the ſaid project, or any part thereof."

[h] Coke's 4th Inſt. fol. 44. [i] Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 800.

[k] Fuller.

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly penſion of eight marks: He erected ſix new biſhoprics, Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborow, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter; of which the laſt five ſubſiſt at this day: And by all theſe means of expence and diſſipation, the profit which the King reaped by the ſeizure of church lands, fell much ſhort of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreſeen ſome years ere it happened, the monks had taken care to diſſipate beforehand moſt of their ſtock, furniture, and plate; ſo that the ſpoils of the great monaſteries bore not, in theſe reſpects, any proportion to thoſe of the leſſer.

BESIDE the lands, poſſeſſed by the monaſteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a conſiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes, annexed to them; and theſe were alſo at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means came into the hands of laymen: An abuſe which many zealous churchmen regard as the moſt criminal ſacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their eaſe in England, and enjoyed revenues, which much exceeded the regular and ſtated expence of the houſe. We read of the abbey of Chertſey in Surrey, which poſſeſt 744 pounds a year, tho' it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furneſs, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained but thirty monks [1]. In order to diſſipate their revenues, and ſupport popularity, the monaſteries lived in a very hoſpitable manner; and beſides the poor, maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who paſſed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely ſubſiſted at the tables of the friars. By this hoſpitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurſeries of idleneſs; but

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

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the King, not to give offence by too ſudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands, to ſupport the ancient hoſpitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very ſhort time. CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

It is eaſy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all theſe violences was received at Rome; and how much the eccleſiaſtics of that court, who had ſo long kept the world in ſubjection by big ſounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric againſt the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was provoked at laſt to publiſh the bull, which he had paſſed againſt that monarch; and in a public manner delivered over his ſoul to the devil, and his dominions to the firſt invader. Libels were diſperſed, in which he was compared to the moſt furious perſecutors in antiquity; and the preference was even given on their ſide: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themſelves reſpected; was at open enmity with heaven; and had engaged in profeſſed hoſtility with the whole hoſt of ſaints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was ſaid, he imitated in his apoſtacy and learning, tho' he fell ſhort of him in his morals. Henry could diſtinguiſh in many of theſe libels the ſtile and animoſity of his kinſman, Pole; and he was thence anew incited to vent his rage, by every poſſible expedient, on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was deſcended of the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He diſcovered in very early youth evident ſymptoms of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which, during his whole life, he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and Henry having conceived great friendſhip for him, propoſed to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical digni- Cardinal Pole.

ties;

CHAP. XXXI.

1538.

ties; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter [m], in order to help him to bear the expences of his education. Pole was carrying on his ſtudies in Paris, at the time when the King ſolicited the ſuffrages of that univerſity in favour of his divorce; but tho' applied to by the Engliſh agent, he declined taking any part in that affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce friendſhip with a perſon, whoſe virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove uſeful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanry, and gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua: He even paid him ſome court, in order to bring him into his meaſures; and wrote to him, while in Italy, deſiring him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the late meaſures taken in England, for aboliſhing the papal authority. Pole had now entered into an intimate friendſhip with whatever was eminent for dignity or merit in Italy; Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taſte and learning; and he was moved by theſe connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in ſome reſpect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor, and his ſovereign. He replied, by writing a treatiſe of *the unity of the church*, where he inveighed againſt the King's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage; and even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to his family, and to the catholic cauſe. Henry, tho' provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages of his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult: But Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy,

[m] Goodwin's Annals.

where

where he was extremely beloved and eſteemed by all the world. CHAP. XXXI.

1538.

THE pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in ſupport of their cauſe, had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and tho' he took not higher orders than thoſe of a deacon, he was ſent legate into Flanders about the year 1536 [n]. Henry was ſenſible, that Pole's chief intention in chooſing that employment, was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh catholics; and he therefore remonſtrated in ſuch a vigorous manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that ſhe diſmiſſed the legate, without allowing him to exerciſe his commiſſion. The enmity which he bore Pole, was now open, as well as violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther meaſures in his intrigues againſt Henry. He is even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the King was every day alarmed by informations, which he received, of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who preſided in the trial, as lord high ſteward. They were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the King ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little of the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: We only know,

[n] Herbert.

that

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

that the condemnation of a man, who was, at that time, profecuted by the court, forms no preſumption of his guilt; tho' as no hiſtorian of credit mentions, in the preſent caſe, any complaints occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume, that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter, and his aſſociates °.

° Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Diſputation with Lambert——A Parliament——Law of the ſix articles——Proclamations made equal to laws——Settlement of the ſucceſſion——King's projects of marriage——He marries Anne of Cleves——He diſlikes her——A Parliament——Fall of Cromwel——His execution——King's divorce from Anne of Cleves——His marriage with Catherine Howard——State of affairs in Scotland——Diſcovery of the Queen's crimes——A Parliament——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

THE rough hand of Henry ſeemed well adapted for rending aſunder thoſe bands, by which the ancient ſuperſtition had faſtened itſelf on the kingdom; and tho', after renouncing the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuppreſſing monaſteries, moſt of the political ends of a reformation were already attained, few people expected, that he would ſtop at thoſe innovations. The ſpirit of oppoſition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmoſt extremity againſt the church of Rome; and lead him to declare war againſt the whole doctrine and worſhip, as well as diſcipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, that a general council was ſummoned to meet at Mantua, he previouſly renounced all ſubmiſſion to it, as being ſummoned by the pope, and lying entirely under ſubjection to that ſpiritual uſurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpoſe; and he had preſcribed to them many other alterations on ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this courſe; and while

CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

while Queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her inſinuation and addreſs, been very ſucceſsful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embaſſy to France, kept the King more in ſuſpence; and by feigning an unlimited ſubmiſſion to his will, he was frequently able to guide him to his own purpoſes. Fox, biſhop of Hereford, had ſupported Cranmer in his ſchemes for a more entire reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, tho' he had hitherto ſeemed a furious enemy to the ſee of Rome, was determined to ſacrifice every thing to preſent intereſt, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himſelf, it was believed, had ſecretly entered into meaſures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with theſe powers, he endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the ancient faith and worſhip.

HENRY was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have retarded his animoſity and oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other paſſion, which ſtopped his career, and raiſed him new ſubjects of animoſity. Tho' he had gradually, ſince he came to years of maturity, been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem, in which he had been educated, he was equally poſitive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, as if the whole fabric had continued entire and unſhaken: And tho' he ſtood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had ſo enflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point, on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy, happened to be the real preſence; that very doctrine, in which, among the numberleſs victories of ſuperſtition over common ſenſe, her triumph is the moſt

moſt ſignal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable; and nothing, he thought, would be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain, in this eſſential article, the purity of the catholic faith.

Diſputation with Lambert.

THERE was one Lambert [p], a ſchool-maſter in London, who had been queſtioned for unſound opinions by archbiſhop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the changing of councils at court, he had been releaſed. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he ſtill continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, defend in a ſermon the corporal preſence, he could not forbear expreſſing to Taylor his diſſent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten ſeveral heads. Taylor carried the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that, tho' the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and were, in a certain myſterious manner, incorporated with the material elements. By the preſent laws and practice, Barnes was no leſs expoſed to the ſtake than Lambert; yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which prevailed, that he was determined to bring this man to condign puniſhment; becauſe, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one ſtep farther than himſelf. He engaged Taylor to accuſe Lambert to Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on theſe points, were obliged to conform themſelves to the ſtandard of orthodoxy, eſtabliſhed by Henry. When Lambert was cited before theſe prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recan-

[p] Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

tation;

CHAP. XXXII.

tation; and they were ſurprized, when, inſtead of compliance, he ventured to appeal to the King.

1538. THE King, not diſpleaſed with an opportunity, where he could at once exert his ſupremacy, and diſplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and was determined to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magiſtrate with the diſputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the liſts with this ſchool-maſter: Scaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall, for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty: The prelates were placed on his right hand: The temporal peers on his left. The judges and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops: The courtiers of greateſt diſtinction behind the peers: And in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and he was required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt [q].

THE biſhop of Chicheſter opened the conference, by ſaying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his biſhop to the King; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the King could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That tho' his majeſty had thrown off the uſurpations of the ſee of Rome; had diſincorporated ſome idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had remedied the idolatrous worſhip of images; had publiſhed the bible in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of all his ſubjects; and had made ſome leſſer alterations, which every one muſt approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all departure from it: And that he had taken the preſent opportunity, before ſo learned and grave an auditory, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he ſtill perſe-

[q] Fox, vol. ii. p. 426.

vered

vered obſtinately in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment [r].

1538.

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the King aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his diſcourſe with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with ſome arguments, drawn from Scripture and the ſchoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal: Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley. And the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The King then, returning to the charge, aſked him whether he was convinced? and he propoſed, as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, whether he was reſolved to live or die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency: The King told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that was his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, read the ſentence againſt him [s].

LAMBERT,

[r] Goodwin's Annals.

[s] Collier, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, vol. II p. 152, has preſerved an account which Cromwel gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyat, the King's embaſſador in Germany. "The King's "majeſty," ſays Cromwel, "for the reverence of the holy ſacrament "of the altar, did ſit openly in his hall, and there preſided at the diſpu-

CHAP. XXXII.

1538. LAMBERT, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of that punishment, to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the King, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired [a].

SOME few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross; and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country, were burned in Smithfield [b].

"tation, process and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, "who was burned the 20th of November. It was a wonder to see "how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty "his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the "church of England. How benignly his grace essayed to convert the "miserable man: How strong and manifest reasons his highness alledged "against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to "have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have "much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, "and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in a manner the "mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom." It was by such flatteries, that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his *strong* and *manifest* reasons for transubstantiation.

[a] Fox's acts and monuments, p. 427. Burnet.

[b] Stowe, p. 556.

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CHAP. XXXII.

1539.

It was the unhappy ſituation of the Engliſh, during that age, that when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the ſatisfaction of expecting redreſs from Parliament: On the contrary, they had reaſon to dread each meeting of that aſſembly, and were then ſure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with ſome circumſtance, which the arbitrary prince and his miniſters had not hitherto deviſed, or did not think proper, of themſelves, to carry into execution. This abject ſervility never more eminently appeared than in a new Parliament, which the King now aſſembled, and which, if he had been ſo pleaſed, might have been the laſt that ever ſat in England. But he found them too uſeful inſtruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total excluſion.

A Parliament. 28th April.

The chancellor opened the Parliament by informing the houſe of Lords, that it was his majeſty's earneſt deſire, to extirpate from his kingdom all diverſity of opinions with regard to religion; and as this enterprize was difficult and important, he deſired them to chuſe a committee among themſelves, who might frame certain articles, and communicate them afterwards to the Parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The houſe might have ſeen what a hopeful taſk they were undertaking: This ſmall committee itſelf was agitated with ſuch diverſity of opinions, that it could come to no concluſion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the houſe, that, ſince there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, propoſed to be eſtabliſhed, ſhould be reduced to ſix; and new committees be appointed to frame an act with regard to them. As this

CHAP. XXXII. 1539.

peer was underſtood to ſpeak the King's mind, his motion was immediately aſſented to; and, after a ſhort prorogation, the bill of the *ſix articles*, or the bloody bill as the proteſtants juſtly termed it, was introduced, and having paſſed the two houſes, had the King's aſſent affixed to it.

Law of the ſix articles.

IN this law, the real preſence was eſtabliſhed, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity, the utility of private maſſes, the celibacy of the clergy, the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion. The denial of the firſt article, with regard to the real preſence, ſubjected the perſon to death by fire, and to the ſame forfeiture as in caſes of treaſon; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard of ſeverity, and unknown to the inquiſition itſelf. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was puniſhable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and impriſonment during the King's pleaſure: An obſtinate adherence to error, or a relapſe, was adjudged to be felony, and puniſhable with death. The marriage of prieſts was ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment. Their commerce with women, for the firſt offence, was forfeiture and impriſonment; for the ſecond, death. Abſtaining from confeſſion, and from receiving the euchariſt at the accuſtomed times, ſubjected the perſon to fine and impriſonment, during the King's pleaſure; and if the criminal perſevered after conviction, he was puniſhable by death and forfeiture, as in caſes of felony [c]. Commiſſioners were to be appointed by the King, for enquiring into theſe hereſies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

THE King, in framing this law, laid his oppreſſive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reaſon

[c] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

to

to complain, that the friars and nuns, though diſmiſſed their convent, ſhould be capriciouſly reſtrained to the practice of celibacy [d]: But as the proteſtants were chiefly expoſed to the ſeverity of the act, the miſery of adverſaries, according to the uſual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own proſperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppoſe this bill in the houſe; and though the King deſired him to abſent himſelf, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance [e]. Henry was accuſtomed to Cranmer's freedom and ſincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unuſual indulgence in that particular, and never allowed even a whiſper againſt him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the ſtatute, to diſmiſs his wife, the niece of Oſiander, a famous divine of Nuremburg [f]; and Henry, ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion, ſhowed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their biſhoprics, on account of this law, and were committed to priſon.

Proclamations made equal to laws.

THE Parliament having thus reſigned all their eccleſiaſtical liberties, proceeded to an entire ſurrender of their civil; and without ſcruple or deliberation they made by one act a total ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution. They gave to the King's proclamations the ſame force as to a ſtatute enacted by Parliament; and to render

[d] There is a ſtory, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, ſoon after this act was paſſed, one of his chaplains, who was ſuſpected of favouring the reformation, ſaid to him, "Now, Sir, what think you of the law to "hinder prieſts from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have done that; but I will anſwer for it, you cannot "hinder men's wives from having prieſts."

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 249, 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.

[f] Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

CHAP. XXXII. 1539.

peer was understood to speak the King's mind, his motion was immediately assented to; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, had the King's assent affixed to it.

Law of the six articles.

In this law, the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article, with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure: An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women, for the first offence, was forfeiture and imprisonment; for the second, death. Abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and imprisonment, during the King's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony[c]. Commissioners were to be appointed by the King, for enquiring into these heresies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

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CHAP. XXXII.

1539.

the matter worſe, if poſſible, they framed this law as if it were only declarative, and were intended to explain the natural extent of the regal authority. The preamble contains, that the King had formerly ſet forth ſeveral proclamations, which froward perſons had wilfully contemned, not conſidering what a King by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to diſobey the laws of Almighty God, but alſo to diſhonour the King's moſt royal majeſty, *who may full ill bear it*; that ſudden emergencies often occur, which require ſpeedy remedies, and cannot await the ſlow aſſembling and deliberations of Parliament; and that, though the King was empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to conſult the public good on theſe occaſions, yet the oppoſition of refractory ſubjects might puſh him to extremity and violence: For theſe reaſons, the Parliament, that they might remove all occaſion of doubt, aſcertained by a ſtatute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majeſty, with the advice of his council, to ſet forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he ſhall think proper; And theſe proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws [g].

WHAT ſhows either a ſtupid or wilful blindneſs of the Parliament is, that they pretended, even after this ſtatute, to maintain ſome limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation ſhould deprive any perſon of his lawful poſſeſſions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchiſes; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable cuſtom of the realm. They conſidered not, that no pains could be inflicted on the diſobedience of proclamations, without invading ſome liberty or property of the ſubject; and that the power of enacting new

[g] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

laws,

laws, joined to the diſpenſing power, then exerciſed by the crown, amounted to a full legiſlative authority. It is true, the Kings of England had been always accuſtomed, from their own authority, to iſſue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a ſtrong ſymptom of abſolute government: But ſtill there was a difference between a power, which was exerciſed on a particular emergence, and which muſt be juſtified by the preſent expediency or neceſſity; and an authority conferred by a poſitive ſtatute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation. 1539.

Settlement of the ſucceſſion.

COULD any act be more oppoſite to the ſpirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the ſame parliament. They paſſed attainders, not only againſt the Marquis of Exeter, the Lords Montacute, Darcy, Huſſey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but alſo againſt ſome perſons, of the higheſt quality, who had never been accuſed, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred, which Henry bore to cardinal Pole, had extended itſelf to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the counteſs of Saliſbury, had, on that account, become extremely obnoxious to him. She was alſo accuſed of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from peruſing the new tranſlation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, 'tis ſaid, were found at Coudray, her country ſeat; of having kept a correſpondence with her ſon, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that theſe offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be ſubject to ſuch ſevere puniſhment as he deſired to inflict upon her. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed againſt her in a more ſummary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpoſe, he ſent Cromwel, who was but too obſequious

CHAP. XXXII.

1539. to his will, to demand of the judges, whether the Parliament could attaint a perſon, who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them [h]? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous queſtion, and that the high court of Parliament ought to give examples to inferior courts of proceeding according to juſtice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the Parliament never would. Being preſſed to give a more explicit anſwer, they replied, that, if a perſon were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never after be brought in queſtion, but muſt remain good in law. Henry learned by this deciſion, that ſuch a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he reſolved to employ it againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury. Cromwel ſhowed to the houſe of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Chriſt, the ſymbol, choſen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the Counteſs's houſe [i]. No other proof ſeems to have been produced, in order to aſcertain her guilt: The Parliament, without farther enquiry, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt her; and they involved in the ſame act, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude Marchioneſs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. Theſe two gentlemen were executed: The marchioneſs was pardoned, and ſurvived the King; the counteſs received a reprieve.

THE only beneficial act, paſſed this ſeſſion, was that by which the parliament confirmed the ſurrender of the monaſteries; and yet even this act contains much falſhood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private

[h] Coke's 4th Inſt. p. 37, 38. [i] Rymer, vol. xiv. 652.

rights

CHAP. XXXII. 1539.

rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to make a surrender of their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive, that could work on the frailty of human nature, had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself [k]. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenues of the convents had been forfeited [l]. Besides, though none of these violences had had place, the King knew, that a surrender made by men, who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders, made by the abbots, had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of common law." And in consequence, the parliament confirms the surrenders, and ascertains the property of the abbey lands to the King and his successors for ever [m]. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers; and that none of them made any protestation against this statute.

[k] Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & seq.

[l] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

[m] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

CHAP. XXXII.

1539.

In this ſeſſion, the rank of all the great officers of ſtate was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency aſſigned him above all of them. It was thought ſingular, that a black-ſmith's ſon, for he was no other, ſhould have place next the royal family; and that a man poſſeſſed of no manner of literature, ſhould be ſet at the head of the church.

As ſoon as the act of the ſix articles had paſſed, the catholics were extremely vigilant to inform againſt offenders; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were in a little time thrown into priſon. But Cromwel, who had not had intereſt enough to prevent that act, was able, for the preſent, to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk, and lord chancellor Audley, as well as Cranmer, he remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents; and he obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. The uncertainty of the King's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No ſooner had Henry paſſed this law, which ſeemed to give ſo deep a wound to the reformers, than he granted a general permiſſion, for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family: A conceſſion regarded by that party, as a moſt important victory.

Henry's projects of marriage.

But as Henry was obſerved to be much governed by his wives, while he retained his fondneſs for them, the final prevalence of either party, ſeemed to depend much on the choice of the future Queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the moſt beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He firſt caſt his eye on the dutcheſs-dowager of Milan, niece to the Emperor; and he made propoſals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties in this deſign, he was carried, by his friendſhip for Francis, rather to think of a French

French princeſs. He demanded the dutcheſs-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guiſe, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that that lady was already betrothed to the King of Scotland. The King, however, would not take a repulſe: He had ſet his heart extremely on the match: The information, which he had received, of the dutcheſs's accompliſhments and beauty, had prepoſſeſſed him in her favour; and having privately ſent over Meautys to examine her perſon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts, which that agent brought him, ſerved farther to inflame his deſires. He learned, that ſhe was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become ſomewhat corpulent. The pleaſure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his proſecution of this match; and he inſiſted, that Francis ſhould give him the preference to the King of Scots. But Francis, though ſenſible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his intereſt, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther ſolicitations, he immediately ſent the Princeſs to Scotland. Not to ſhock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the King was informed, that James had formerly rejected this Princeſs, he would not hear any farther of ſuch a propoſal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger ſiſters of the new Queen of Scots; and he aſſured him, that they were nowiſe inferior either in merit or ſize to their elder ſiſter, and that one of them was even ſuperior in beauty. The King was as ſcrupulous with regard to the perſon of his wives, as if his heart had been really ſuſceptible of a delicate paſſion; and he was unwilling to truſt any relations, or even pictures, with regard

CHAP. XXXII. 1539.

CHAP. XXXII.

1539.

regard to this important particular. He propoſed to Francis, that they ſhould have a conference at Calais on pretence of buſineſs; and that that monarch ſhould bring along with him the two Princeſſes of Guiſe, together with the fineſt ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallante ſpirit of Francis was ſhocked with this propoſal; and he was impreſſed with too much regard, he ſaid, for the fair ſex, to carry ladies of the firſt quality, like geldings, to a market, there to be choſen or rejected by the humour of the merchant[n]. Henry would hearken to none of theſe niceties, but ſtill inſiſted on his propoſal; which, however, notwithſtanding Francis's earneſt deſire of continuing a good correſpondence with him, was finally rejected.

THE King began then to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely diſguſted againſt the Emperor on account of the perſecution of their religion, he hoped, by matching himſelf into one of their families, to renew an amity, which he regarded as ſo uſeful to him. Cromwel joyfully ſeconded this intention; and propoſed to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great intereſt among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteſtant alliance. A flattering picture, drawn for the Princeſs by Hans Holben, determined Henry to apply to her father; and after ſome negotiations, the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, was at laſt concluded; and the Princeſs was ſent over to England. The King, impatient to be ſatisfied with regard to the perſon of his bride, came privately to Rocheſter, and

He marries Anne of Cleves.

[n] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

got

got a ſight of her. He found her big, indeed, and tall, as he could wiſh; but utterly devoid both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and repreſentations, which he had received: He ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders-mare; and declared, that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe, when he found, that ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to Lord Ruſſel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to Kings, who could not, like private perſons, chooſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

1539.

Diſlikes her.

It was the ſubject of debate among the King's counſellers, whether the marriage could not yet be broke; and the Princeſs be ſent back to her own country. Henry's ſituation ſeemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce, concluded between the Emperor and the king of France, a good underſtanding ſeemed to have taken place between theſe rival monarchs; and ſuch marks of union appeared, as gave great jealouſy to the court of England. The Emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An inſurrection had been raiſed in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and ſeemed to threaten the moſt dangerous conſequences. Charles, who reſided at that time in Spain, reſolved to go in perſon to Flanders, in order to appeaſe theſe diſorders; but

CHAP. XXXII.

but he found great difficulties in contriving the manner of his paſſage thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious: The voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: He aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he entruſted himſelf into the hands of a rival, whom he had ſo mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris, with great magnificence and courteſy; and though prompted both by revenge and intereſt, as well as by the advice of his miſtreſs and favourites, to make advantage of the preſent opportunity, he conducted the Emperor ſafely out of his dominions; and would not ſo much as ſpeak to him of buſineſs during his abode in France, leſt his demands ſhould bear the air of violence upon his royal gueſt.

1539.

HENRY, who was informed of all theſe particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between theſe two great monarchs; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England[p]. An alliance with the German princes ſeemed now, more than ever, requiſite for his intereſt and ſafety; and he knew, that, if he ſent back the Princeſs of Cleves, ſuch an affront would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He was therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding his averſion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own intereſt was concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the King, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The King told him, that he hated her worſe than ever; and that her perſon was more lothſome on a near approach: He was reſolved

1540. 6 January.

[p] Stowe, p. 579.

never

never to meddle with her; and even ſuſpected her not to be a true maid: A point, about which he had entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued however to be civil to Anne; he even ſeemed to repoſe his uſual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over his temper, a diſcontent lay lurking in his breaſt, and was ready to burſt out on the firſt opportunity. CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

A SESSION of Parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the houſe of peers. The King, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the Parliament of the great diverſity of religions, which ſtill prevailed among his ſubjects: A grievance, he ſaid, which ought the leſs to be endured; becauſe the Scriptures were now publiſhed in Engliſh, and ought univerſally to be the ſtandard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he ſaid, ſome biſhops and divines to draw up a liſt of tenets, to which his people were to aſſent; and he was determined, that Chriſt, the doctrine of Chriſt, and the truth ſhould have the victory. The King ſeems to have expected more effect in aſcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enſued from the publication of the Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made alſo in the King's name a ſpeech to the upper houſe; and the peers, in return, beſtowed ſuch flattery on him, that they ſaid he was worthy, by his deſert, to be vicar-general of the univerſe. That miniſter ſeemed to be no leſs in his maſter's good graces: He received, ſoon after the ſitting of the Parliament, the title of Earl of Eſſex, and was inſtalled knight of the garter. 12 April. A Parliament.

THERE remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly eccleſiaſtical, partly military, had, by their valour, done great

CHAP. XXXII.

but he found great difficulties in contriving the manner of his paſſage thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious: The voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: He aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he entruſted himſelf into the hands of a rival, whom he had ſo mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris, with great magnificence and courteſy; and though prompted both by revenge and intereſt, as well as by the advice of his miſtreſs and favourites, to make advantage of the preſent opportunity, he conducted the Emperor ſafely out of his dominions; and would not ſo much as ſpeak to him of buſineſs during his abode in France, leſt his demands ſhould bear the air of violence upon his royal gueſt.

1539.

HENRY, who was informed of all theſe particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between theſe two great monarchs; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England [p]. An alliance with the German princes ſeemed now, more than ever, requiſite for his intereſt and ſafety; and he knew, that, if he ſent back the Princeſs of Cleves, ſuch an affront would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He was therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding his averſion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own intereſt was concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the King, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The King told him, that he hated her worſe than ever; and that her perſon was more lothſome on a near approach: He was reſolved

1540. 6 January.

[p] Stowe, p. 579.

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CHAP. XXXII.

1540.

great ſervice to Chriſtendom; and had very much retarded, at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progreſs of the barbarians. During the general ſurrender of the religious houſes in England, they had exerted their ſpirit; and had obſtinately refuſed to yield up their revenues to the King; and Henry, who would endure no ſociety that profeſſed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourſe to the Parliament for the diſſolution of this order. Their revenues were large; and formed an addition nowiſe contemptible to the many acquiſitions, which the King had already made. But he had very ill huſbanded the great revenue obtained by the plunder of the church: His profuſe generoſity diſſipated faſter than his rapacity could ſupply; and the Parliament were ſurprized this ſeſſion to find a new demand made upon them of four tenths and a ſubſidy of one ſhilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the people's expectations anſwered, that the crown was never more to require any ſupply from the people. The commons, though laviſh of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow ſubjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty that that grant could be obtained by this abſolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the King four ſhillings in the pound to be levied in two years. The pretext for theſe grants was the great expence, which Henry had been put to for the defence of the nation, in building forts along the ſea coaſt, and in equipping a navy. As he had at preſent no ally on the Continent, in whom he repoſed much confidence, he relied only on his domeſtic ſtrength, and was on that account obliged to be more expenſive in his preparations againſt the dangers of an invaſion.

THE King's favour to Cromwel, and his acquieſcence in the marriage of Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His averſion to the Queen ſecretly encreaſed

encreaſed every day; and having at laſt broke all reſtraint, it prompted him at once to ſeek the diſſolution of a marriage ſo odious to him, and to involve his miniſter in ruin, who had been the author of it. The fall of Cromwel was haſtened by other cauſes. All the nobility hated a man, who, being of ſuch baſe extraction, had not only mounted above them by his ſtation of vicar general, but had engroſſed many of the other conſiderable offices of the kingdom: Beſides that commiſſion, which gave him a high, and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was Lord privy ſeal, Lord chamberlain, and Maſter of the wards: He had alſo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of the moſt illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violences on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments, which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the King, who found, that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain the affections of his ſubjects.

1540. Fall of Cromwel.

But there was another cauſe, which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The King had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no other expedient but by procuring

CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The Duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin the miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the King, to arreſt Cromwel at the council-board on the accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the univerſe. The houſe of commons paſſed the bill, though not without ſome oppoſition. Cromwel was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the inſtances of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, or even abſolutely ridiculous[a]. The only circumſtance of his conduct, by which he ſeems to have merited this fate, was his being the inſtrument of the King's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills, in the former ſeſſion, againſt the Counteſs of Saliſbury and others.

CROMWEL endeavoured to ſoften the King by the moſt humble ſupplications; but all to no purpoſe: It was not the practice of that Prince to ruin his miniſters and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy priſoner wrote once in ſo moving a ſtrain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himſelf againſt all movements of pity, and refuſed his pardon. The concluſion of Cromwel's letter ran in theſe words. "I, a moſt wo-
"ful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death when it ſhall
"pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh
"incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon

[a] Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

"of

CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

"of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the "heavy heart and trembling hand of your highneſs's "moſt miſerable priſoner and poor ſlave, Thomas "Cromwel." And a little below, "Moſt gracious "prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy [b]." When brought to execution, he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would reſent on his ſon theſe ſymptoms of oppoſition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, induſtry, and ability; worthy of a better maſter and of a better fate. Though raiſed to the ſummit of power from a very low origin, he betrayed no inſolence or contempt of his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his lower fortune, he had owed to any one. He had ſerved as a private ſentinel in the Italian wars, where he received ſome good offices from a Lucqueſe merchant, who had entirely forgot his perſon, as well as the ſervice, which he had rendered him. Cromwel, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to caſt his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately ſent for him, put him in mind of their antient friendſhip, and by his grateful aſſiſtance, re-inſtated him in his former proſperous circumſtances [d].

28th July. His execution.

THE meaſures for divorcing the King from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the ſame time with the bill of attainder againſt Cromwel. The houſe of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to him by petition, deſiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had been formerly

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282. [d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

contracted by her father to the Duke of Lorrain; but ſhe, as well as the Duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by the conſent of both parties. The King, however, pleaded this contract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reaſons more, which may ſeem a little extraordinary; that, when he eſpouſed Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his conſent, and that he had not thought proper to conſummate the marriage. The convocation were ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſolemnly annulled the marriage between the King and Queen: The Parliament ratified the deciſion of the clergy [y]; and the ſentence was ſoon after notified to that Princeſs.

ANNE was bleſt with a happy inſenſibility of temper, even in the points which the moſt nearly affect her ſex; and the King's averſion towards her, as well as his proſecution of the divorce, had never given her the leaſt uneaſineſs. She willingly hearkened to terms of compoſition with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his ſiſter, to give her place next the Queen, and his own daughter, and to make a ſettlement of three thouſand pounds a year upon her; ſhe accepted of the conditions, and gave her conſent to the divorce [z]. She even wrote to her brother, (for her father was dead) that ſhe had been very well

[y] To ſhow how much Henry ſported with law and common ſenſe; how ſervilely the Parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were loſt to all ſentiment of ſhame; an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, declaring, that a precontract ſhould be no ground of annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made uſe of both in the caſe of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the King's intention in this law is ſaid to be a deſign of reſtoring the princeſs Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the preſent object, without regarding the inconſiſtency of his conduct. The Parliament made it high treaſon to deny the diſſolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

[z] Herbert, p. 458, 459.

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uſed in England, and deſired him to live on good terms with the King. The only inſtance of pride which ſhe betrayed was, that ſhe refuſed to return into her own country after the affront which ſhe had received; and ſhe lived and died in England,

CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

NOTWITHSTANDING Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldneſs between the King and the German princes; but as the ſituation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their reſentment. The cloſe intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had ſubſiſted during a very ſhort time: The diſſimilarity of their characters ſoon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealouſy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that ſatisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make ſome very dangerous confidences to that intereſted monarch; and having now loſt all ſuſpicion of his rival, he hoped, that the emperor and he, ſupporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his gueſt the ſtate of his negociations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians: He alſo laid open the ſolicitations which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy againſt him[m]. Charles had no ſooner reached his own dominions, than he ſhewed himſelf unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He flatly refuſed to execute his promiſe, and put the Duke of Orleans in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe: He informed Solyman, and the ſenate of Venice, of the treatment which they had received from their ally: And he took care that Henry ſhould not be ignorant how willingly Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to

[m] Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

CHAP. XXXII.

1540.

whom he owed ſuch important obligations, and had ſacrificed him to a new confederate: He even poiſoned and miſrepreſented many things, which the unſuſpecting heart of the French monarch had diſcloſed to him. Had Henry poſſeſſed true judgment and generoſity, this incident alone had been ſufficient to guide him in the choice of his allies. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendſhip of Francis, who had ſo unexpectedly given the Emperor the preference: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted the offer; and thinking himſelf ſecure in this alliance, he neglected the friendſhip both of France and of the German princes.

THE new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs, was extremely agreeable to his catholic ſubjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reaſons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagoniſts. The marriage of the King with Catherine Howard, which followed ſoon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was alſo regarded as a very favourable incident to their cauſe; and the ſubſequent events correſponded perfectly to their expectations. The King's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious perſecution commenced againſt th proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cauſe of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the ſeverity of the perſecuting ſpirit; and, by a bill which paſſed in parliament, without trial, he was condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerard. He diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and as the debate between him and the ſheriff, turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour, to be praying for the

8th Auguſt. His marriage with Catherine Howard,

ſheriff

CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

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WHILE Henry was exerting this violence againſt the proteſtants, he ſpared not the catholics who denied his ſupremacy; and a foreigner, who was at that time in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged [i]. The King even diſplayed, in an oſtentatious manner, this tyrannical equity and impartiality, which reduced both parties to ſubjection, and infuſed terror into every breaſt. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was alſo executed for his religion. Theſe catholics were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powel, who declared, that the moſt grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled to ſuch heretical miſcreants as ſuffered with them [k].

THOUGH the ſpirit of the Engliſh ſeemed to be totally ſunk under the deſpotic power of Henry, there appeared ſome ſymptoms of diſcontent: An inconſiderable inſurrection broke out in Yorkſhire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Nevil, with the other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the King was inſtantly determined to make the counteſs of Saliſbury, who lay under ſentence

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox.
[i] Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.
[k] Saunders, de Schiſm. Angl.

CHAP. XXXII.

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CHAP. XXXII.

of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to the place of execution, and this venerable matron maintained ſtill, in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended [1]. She refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence where ſhe had received no trial. She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt way he could: And thus ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck, before he was able to give her the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the ſpace of three hundred years. The lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered great ſervice to the crown, was alſo beheaded for treaſon, ſoon after the counteſs of Saliſbury. We know little of the grounds of his proſecution.

1540. 27 May.

THE inſurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progreſs thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, to which thoſe parts were much addicted. He had alſo another motive for his journey: He propoſed to hold a conference at York with his nephew the King of Scotland, and, if poſſible, to cement a cloſe and indiſſoluble union with that kingdom.

1541.

State of affairs in Scotland.

THE ſame ſpirit of religious innovation, which had ſeized the other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, long before this period, to excite the ſame jealouſies, fears, and perſecutions. About the year 1527, Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a

[1] Herbert, p. 468.

noble

noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest honours. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendship, and a sympathy in opinion, had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him to Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain, with some of the clergy, a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, freewill, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burnt for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death, while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved with the constancy of his end; and an incident, which soon followed, still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet, as well as a martyr[1].

1541.

[1] Spotswood's Hist. church of Scotland, p. 62.

AMONG

CHAP. XXXII.

1541. AMONG the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkel, enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest answered, that he had read both Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epistle, or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the Scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to his trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in some cellar: For that the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew [m].

THE clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable, the priests, who found both their honours and properties at stake, thought that they had a right to resist, by every extremity, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity, which justified a man in killing a pyrate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of such heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said, be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions, and even the subsistence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to

[m] Spotswood, p. 65.

kindle

kindle the fires of perſecution, they found the ſucceſs of this remedy very precarious, and obſerved, that the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by puniſhment, was apt to prove very contagious on the compaſſionate minds of the ſpectators. The new doctrine, amidſt all the dangers to which it was expoſed, ſpread itſelf ſecretly every where; and the minds of men were gradually diſpoſed to a revolution in religion. CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, moved by the example of England, had caſt a wiſhful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themſelves by the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. James himſelf, who was very poor, and was ſomewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been ſwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the ſame fate which attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry alſo, never ceaſed exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proſelytes, and the proſpect of ſecurity, if Scotland ſhould embrace a cloſe union with him, he ſolicited the King of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promiſe to that purpoſe.

The eccleſiaſtics were extremely alarmed with this reſolution of James; and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent it. They repreſented the dangers of innovation; the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh, his hereditary enemies; the dependance which muſt enſue upon loſing the friendſhip of France, and of all foreign potentates. To theſe conſiderations, they added the proſpect of preſent intereſt, by which they found the King to be much governed: They offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds Scots: They promiſed him, that the church

CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

church ſhould always be ready to contribute to his ſupply: And they pointed out to him, the confiſcations of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thouſand pounds a year to the crown revenues[m]. The inſinuations of his new Queen, to whom youth, beauty, and addreſs had given a powerful influence over him, ſeconded all theſe reaſons; and James was at laſt engaged, firſt to delay his journey, then to ſend excuſes to the King of England, who had already come to York, in order to be preſent at the conference.

HENRY, vexed with the diſappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance againſt his nephew; and he began, by permitting pyracies at ſea, and incurſions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received ſoon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more ſenſible, and which touched him in a point where he had always ſhewn an extreme delicacy. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage: The youth, beauty, and agreeable diſpoſition of Catherine, had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no ſecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him; and he deſired the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe. But the queen very little merited this tenderneſs which he bore her: She had abandoned herſelf to lewdneſs. One Laſcelles brought intelligence of her diſſolute life to Cranmer; and told him, that his ſiſter, formerly a ſervant in the old dutcheſs of Norfolk's family, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account

Diſcovery of the Queen's crimes.

[m] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitſcotie, ibid. Knox.

of

of all her diſorders. Derham and Mannoc, both of them ſervants of the dutcheſs, had been admitted to her bed; and ſhe had even taken little care to conceal her ſhame from the other ſervants of the family. The primate, ſtruck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to diſcover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed, that the matter ſhould by no means be buried in ſilence; and the archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to the King. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aſtoniſhed at the intelligence. So conſident was he of the fidelity of his conſort, that he gave at firſt no credit to the information; and he ſaid to the lord privy-ſeal, to lord Ruſſel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriotheſely, that he regarded the whole as a forgery. Cranmer was now in a very perilous ſituation; and had not full proofs been found, certain and inevitable deſtruction hung over him. The King's impatience, however, and jealouſy prompted him to ſearch the matter to the bottom: The privy-ſeal was ordered to examine Laſcelles, who perſiſted in the information he had given; and ſtill appealed to his ſiſter's teſtimony. That nobleman made next a pretence of hunting, and went to Suſſex, where the woman at that time reſided: He found her both conſtant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arreſted at the ſame time, and examined by the chancellor, made the Queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets; and ſome of them

CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

CHAP. XXXII.

1541. them had even paſt the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the King, who was ſo deeply affected, that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found to his ſurprize, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The Queen being now queſtioned, denied her guilt; but when informed, that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed, that ſhe had been criminal before her marriage; and only inſiſted, that ſhe had never been falſe to the King's bed. But as there was evidence, that one Colepeper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and as it appeared, that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice; ſhe ſeemed to deſerve very little credit in this aſſeveration; and the King beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt.

1542. HENRY found, that he could not ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals as by

16 Jan. aſſembling a Parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. The two houſes, having received the Queen's confeſſion, began by an addreſs to the King; which conſiſted of ſeveral particulars. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to frame a bill of attainder againſt the Queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And as there was a law in force, making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the Queen,

Queen, as well as King, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of that ſtatute. CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

HAVING obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the Parliament proceeded to an act of attainder for treaſon againſt the Queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this act Colepeper, and Derham, were alſo comprized. At the ſame time, they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew the Queen's vicious life before her marriage, and yet concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this ſentence: For he pardoned the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others, condemned for miſpriſion o treaſon.

HOWEVER, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the Parliament to frame a law, equally full of extravagance. It was enacted, that any one, who knew, or vehemently preſumed any guilt in the Queen, and did not, within twenty days, diſcloſe it to the King or council, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; prohibiting every one, at the ſame time, from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others. It was alſo enacted, that if the King married any woman, who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal

her

CHAP. XXXII.

1542.

her guilt to him. The people made merry with this extraordinary clauſe, and ſaid, that the King muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute[a]. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the Queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner ſuitable to their diſſolute life; and as the lady Rocheford was known to be the chief inſtrument, who had brought Anne Boleyn to her end, ſhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the diſcovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable ſentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate Queen.

THE King made no demand of any ſubſidies from this Parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther ſteps towards the diſſolution of colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practiſing on the preſidents and governors, to make a ſurrender of their revenues to the King; and they had been ſucceſsful with eight of them. But there was an obſtacle to their farther progreſs: It had been provided, by the local ſtatutes of moſt of theſe foundations, that no preſident, nor any fellows, could make ſuch a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this conſent was not eaſily obtained. All ſuch ſtatutes were now annulled by Parliament; and the revenues of theſe houſes, ſo uſeful to the public, were now laid open to the rapacity of the King and his favourites [b]. The church had been

[a] Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

[b] It was enacted by this Parliament, that there ſhould be trial of treaſon in any county where the King ſhould appoint by commiſſion. The ſtatutes of treaſon had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and ſuch an expedient ſaved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The ſame Parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed

been so long their prey, that nobody was surprized at any new inroads made upon it. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils. CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

Ecclesiastic affairs.

THE clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded, by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as a zeal for religion: But the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church; his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the Parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two archbishops and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the Parliament, in 1541, had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets, which these divines should establish with the King's consent: And

nexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This session, the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent encreased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards considerable consequences. Hollingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

CHAP. XXXII.

1541.

they were not ashamed of expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in religious as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute, which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: It was enacted that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the King, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more the master of every one's life and property. And as the antient independance of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason, that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes wherever they thought the law or royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; tho' at first invented for arbitrary purposes!

The King, armed by the authority of Parliament, or rather by their acknowlegement of that spiritual supremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: The sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are now encreased to the number of seven, conformable to the sentiments of the catholics. The King's caprice is discern-

able

able through the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his compoſition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tye his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himſelf had formerly eſtabliſhed. CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

THE people had occaſion ſoon after to ſee a farther inſtance of the King's inconſtancy. He was not long ſatisfied with his Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man: He ordered a new book to be compoſed, called, the *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*; and without aſking the aſſent of the convocation, he publiſhed, by his own authority, and that of the Parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Inſtitution [d]; but the King was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his ſignal. In both theſe books, he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and he was no leſs careful to retain the nation in the practice.

WHILE the King was ſpreading his own books among the people, he ſeems to have been extremely perplexed, as well as the clergy, what courſe to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the eccleſiaſtical ſynod of the new tranſlation of the Bible; and Gardiner had propoſed, that, inſtead of employing Engliſh expreſſions throughout, ſeveral Latin words ſhould ſtill be preſerved, becauſe they contained, as he pretended, ſuch peculiar energy and ſignificance, that they had no correſpondent terms in the vulgar tongue [e]. Among theſe were *eccleſia*, *pœnitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holocauſta*, *ſacramentum*, *elementa*, *ceremonia*, *myſterium*, *preſbyter*, *ſacrificium*, *humilitas*, *ſatisfactio*, *peccatum*, *gratia*, *hoſtia*, *charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared ex-

[d] Collier, vol. ii. p. 190. [e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

CHAP. XCII.

1541.

tremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpoſe than to retain the people in their antient ignorance, the propoſal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at leaſt their diſputative turn, ſeemed to be an inconvenience ſtill more dangerous; and the King and Parliament[f], ſoon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the conceſſion, which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants to peruſe them[g]. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent heſitation, and a dread of the conſequences: Theſe perſons were allowed to read, *ſo it be done quietly and with good order*. And the preamble to the act ſets forth, "that many ſeditious and ignorant "perſons had abuſed the liberty granted them for read-"ing the Bible, and that great diverſity of opinions, "animoſities, tumults, and ſchiſms had been occaſioned "by perverting the ſenſe of the Scriptures." It ſeemed very difficult to reconcile the King's model for uniformity, with the permiſſion of free enquiry.

THE maſs book alſo paſſed under the King's cognizance; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious ſaints only were ſtruck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewiſe uſed with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was ſold. The word, Pope, was carefully omitted or blotted out[h]; as if that precaution could aboliſh the term from the language, or as if ſuch a perſecution of it did not rather imprint it more ſtrongly in the memory of the people.

THE King took care about this time to clear the churches of another abuſe, which had crept into them.

[f] Which met on the 22d of January, 1543.

[g] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

[h] Parliamentary hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 113.

Plays,

Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for their antient principles and modes of worship, was thereby gradually effaced[1]. We do not hear, that the catholics attempted to retaliate by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit, by which, it appears, the reformers were often actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side: Perhaps the greater simplicity and the more spiritual abstract worship of the protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on sensible representations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession, which Henry made the catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies. CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

THUS Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments: But as he entered, himself, with the greatest earnestness, into all these scholastic reasonings, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

CHAP. XXXIII.

War with Scotland.——Victory at Solway.——Death of James the fifth.——Treaty with Scotland.——New rupture.——Rupture with France.——A Parliament.——Affairs of Scotland.——A Parliament.——Campaign in France.——A Parliament.——Peace with France and Scotland.——Perſecutions.——Execution of the Earl of Surrey.——Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk.——Death of the King.——His character.——His laws.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1542. War with Scotland.

HENRY being determined to avenge himſelf of the King of Scots for ſlighting the advances, which he made for his friendſhip, would gladly have obtained a ſupply from the Parliament, to enable him to proſecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to diſcover his intentions, the Parliament, conformable to their frugal maxims, would underſtand no hints; and the King was diſappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and ſo ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which he endeavoured to juſtify his hoſtilities. He complained of James's diſappointing him in the promiſed interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel[k]: But in order to give a more ſpecious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; that his nephew had given protection to ſome Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and had detained ſome territory, which, Henry pretended, belonged to England. He even revived the old claim of the dependance of the

[k] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the fifth.

crown

crown of Scotland, and he ſummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and ſuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the ſcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and tho' James ſent the biſhop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darſay, to appeaſe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was aſſembling his army at Newcaſtle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended with Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incurſion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deſtroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been ſo many years baniſhed their country, and had ſubſiſted by Henry's bounty, joined the Engliſh army in this incurſion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thouſand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had poſted a conſiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vaſſals, was haſtening to join Huntley, when he met with the Engliſh army; and a battle immediately enſued. While they were engaged, the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Engliſh, afraid of being overpowered and ſurrounded, took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners. A few only of ſmall note fell in this ſkirmiſh [1].

CHAP. XXXIII. 1542.

24 Auguſt.

THE duke of Norfolk, mean while, began to move from his camp at Newcaſtle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he ad-

[1] Buchanan, lib. 14.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1542.

vanced to the borders. His army amounted to above twenty thouſand men; and it required the utmoſt efforts of Scotland to reſiſt ſuch formidable preparations. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance ſo ſoon as he ſhould be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The Engliſh paſſed the Tweed at Berwic, and advanced along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but hearing that James had gathered together near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country [m]. The King of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurprized to find, that his nobility, who were generally diſaffected on account of the preference, which he had given the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this defection, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy's country. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway firth; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, with the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſenger to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army were extremely diſpleaſed with this alteration, and were ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately

[m] Buchanan, lib. 14.

took

took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility. Among theſe were the earls of Caſſilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Sommerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all ſent to London, and given in cuſtody to different noblemen. CHAP. XXXIII. 1542. 24th November. Victory at Solway.

THE King of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was confounded; and being naturally of a melancholic diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this diſmal occaſion. Rage againſt his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; ſhame for a defeat by ſuch unequal numbers; regret of the paſt, fear of the future; all theſe paſſions ſo wrought upon him, that he would admit of no conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. His body was waſted by ſympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no child living; and hearing that his Queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked whether ſhe had brought him a male or female? Being told, the latter; he turned about in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," ſaid he, "and it will go with one: Many miſeries await this "poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by "force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents, well fitted, by his vigilance and perſonal courage, for repreſſing thoſe diſorders, to which, his kingdom, during that age, was ſo much expoſed. He executed juſtice with the greateſt impartiality and rigour; but as he ſupported the commonalty and the church againſt the rapine of the nobility, he eſcaped not the hatred of that order. The proteſtants alſo, whom he repreſſed, have endeavoured to throw many ſtains 14th of December. Death of James the fifth.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ſtains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any conſiderable imputation on him [p].

1543. HENRY was no ſooner informed of his victory and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreſeen, the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon, Edward, to the heireſs of that kingdom [o]. He called together the Scots nobles, who were his priſoners; and after reproaching them, in ſevere terms, for their breach of treaty, as he pretended, he began to ſoften his tone, and propoſed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, thoſe diſorders, ſo prejudicial to both ſtates, would for the future be prevented. He offered to beſtow on them their liberty without ranſom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the Prince of Wales with their young miſtreſs. They were eaſily prevailed on to give their aſſent to a propoſal, which ſeemed ſo natural, and ſo advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcaſtle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk, hoſtages for their return, in caſe the intended nuptials were not compleated: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in ſome confuſion.

THE Pope, finding his authority in Scotland expoſed to danger from the ſpreading of the new opinions, had

[p] The perſecutions, exerciſed during James's reign, are not to be aſcribed to his bigotry, a vice, of which he ſeems to have been as free as Francis the firſt or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, ſhewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all theſe princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the ſituation of affairs, during that age, which rendered it impoſſible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the reſolution of ſupporting the antient eſtabliſhments. So violent was the propenſity of the times towards innovation, that a toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed deſign of changing the national religion.

[o] Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

beſtowed

bestowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal; and that prelate had been long regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party, which defended the antient privileges and properties of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and himself, endeavoured to keep possession of the power; and for that purpose, he is accused of executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the King, appointing himself, and three noblemen, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant Princess [p]: At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation [q]. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having joined his interests with those of the Queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran. CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter to James the third; and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office, into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and though his character contained little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity, which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of these innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his

[p] Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.
[q] John Knox, History of the reformation.

family,

CHAP. XXXIII.

1543.

family, he had been able to make oppoſition to the cardinal's adminiſtration; and the ſuſpicion of Beaton's forgery, with the acceſſion of the noblemen, who had been priſoners in England, aſſiſted too by ſome money, ſent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus, and his brother, having taken the preſent opportunity of returning into their own country, oppoſed the cardinal with all the force of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced oppoſite intereſts to thoſe which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to cuſtody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, for the marriage of the infant Queen with the Prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the Queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe was ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England to be educated; that ſix Scots nobles ſhould immediately be delivered as hoſtages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill preſerve its laws and privileges [r]. By means of theſe equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with ſuch diſmal calamities, ſeemed to be fully compoſed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and unanimity.

Treaty with Scotland.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to reſtore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all theſe meaſures, which appeared to be ſo well concerted. He aſſembled the moſt conſiderable eccleſiaſtics; and having repreſented to them the imminent danger, to which their revenues and privileges were expoſed, he perſuaded them to collect privately from the

[r] Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

clergy

clergy a large ſum of money, by which, if entruſted to his management, he promiſed to overturn the ſchemes of their enemies [s]. Beſides the partizans, whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he rouzed up the zeal of thoſe, who were attached to the catholic worſhip; and he repreſented the union with England as the ſure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the antient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots againſt the Engliſh nation, was alſo an infallible engine, by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their inability to make reſiſtance, had procured a temporary aſſent to the alliance and marriage propoſed, the ſettled habits of the nation produced an extreme averſion to thoſe meaſures. The Engliſh ambaſſador and his train received many inſults from perſons whom the cardinal had incited to commit thoſe indignities, in hopes of bringing on a rupture. But Sadler very prudently diſſembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hoſtages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for anſwer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impreſſion, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themſelves as hoſtages to the Engliſh. Sadler, foreſeeing the conſequence of this refuſal, ſent a ſummons to all thoſe who had been priſoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promiſe which they had given of returning into cuſtody. None of them ſhowed ſo much ſentiment of honour, as to perform their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſilis. Henry was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciouſly, but honoured

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

[s] Buchanan, lib. 15.

him

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

him with preſents, gave him his liberty, and ſent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hoſtages [t].

New rupture.

THIS behaviour of the Scots nobles, though it reflected diſhonour on the nation, was not unacceptable to the cardinal, who foreſaw, that all theſe perſons would now be deeply intereſted to maintain their enmity and oppoſition to the Engliſh. And as a war was ſoon expected with that kingdom, he found it neceſſary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the aſſiſtance of that antient ally, during the preſent diſtreſſes of the Scots nation. Though Francis was fully ſenſible of his intereſt in ſupporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unſeaſonable juncture. His pretenſions on the Milaneſe, and his reſentment againſt Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made very great, though fruitleſs efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more diſabled at preſent from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any ſuccour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed, that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the Queen-mother: And he promiſed, that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould ſoon be diſpatched after him. Arran, the governor, ſeeing all theſe preparations againſt him, aſſembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perſon of the infant Queen into his cuſtody; but being repulſed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entruſt that precious

[t] Buchanan, lib. 15.

charge

charge to four neutral perſons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areſkines, Lindſeys, and Leviſtons. The arrival of Lenox, in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, ſerved to render the victory of the French party over the Engliſh ſtill more undiſputable[a]. CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

THE oppoſition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues, excited his reſentment, and farther confirmed the reſolution which he had before taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with thoſe of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint againſt the French King; which, though they were not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance thoſe great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in ſeparating himſelf entirely from the ſee of Rome, and that he had broke his promiſe in that particular. He was diſſatisfied, that James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, firſt Magdalene of France, then a princeſs of the houſe of Guiſe; and he conſidered theſe alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to ſupport the Scots againſt the power of England[b]. He had been informed of ſome railleries, which the French King had thrown out againſt his conduct with regard to his wives. He was diſguſted, that Francis, after ſo many obligations which he owed him, had ſacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendſhip, had raſhly revealed his ſecrets to that ſubtle and intereſted monarch. And he complained, that regular payments were never made of the ſums due to him by France, and of the penſion which had been promiſed. Impelled by all theſe motives, he alienated himſelf from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very Rupture with France.

[a] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond. [b] Pere Daniel.

earneſtly

CHAP. XXXIII.

1543. earneſtly courted his alliance. This league, beſides ſtipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thouſand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the ſums which he owed him, and to conſign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion for the future: In caſe theſe conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed, to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France, and the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and ſome other territories[c]. That they might have a pretence for enforcing theſe claims, they ſent a meſſage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuffered from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French King's refuſal, war was declared againſt him by the confederates. It may be proper to obſerve, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical King of England, as no leſs odious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they obſerved, that this league was a breach of that ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement the ſeventh, never to make peace or alliance with England.

22d January. A Parliament.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negociating, the King ſummoned a new ſeſſion of Parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with France. The Parliament granted him a ſubſidy to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three ſhillings in the pound upon any individual[d]. The

[c] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

[d] They who were worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds,

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

The convocation gave the King six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than the laity: Which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs [e].

The Parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the King's proclamations were made equal to statutes: They appointed, that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the King had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, for the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable, that the lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one which was entered against any public bill during this whole reign [f].

We have taken notice, in the end of the former chapter, of some laws regarding religion, which the Parliament passed this session, in order to gratify the King's humour. It was farther enacted [g], that every spiritual

pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, paid eight pence in the pound from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

[e] Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

[f] Burnet, p. 322.

[g] 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1543. person, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the King's book, the *Erudition of a christian man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he shall *henceforth* promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his errors; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his purgation. These penalties were lighter than those formerly imposed on a denial of transubstantiation: It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But in order to make the King more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause, both parties were retained in subjection; so far as regarded religion, the King was invested, in the fullest manner, with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom; and all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly, whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

THE reformers began to entertain hopes, that this exorbitant power would be employed in their favour.

12th July. The King married Catherine Par, widow to Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage, Henry made good what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The King's league with the emperor, seemed to be a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles, were very inconſiderable during the preſent year. The campaign was opened with a victory, gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor[h]: Francis, in perſon, took the field early; and made himſelf maſter, without reſiſtance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added ſome fortifications to it. Charles, having at laſt aſſembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almoſt every fortreſs in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to ſubmit to the terms which he was pleaſed to preſcribe to him. Being then joined by a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh, he ſat down before Landrecy, and covered the ſiege with an army of above forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the ſiege: But while theſe two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all the world ſtood in expectation of ſome great event; the French found means to throw ſuccours into Landrecy, and having thus effected their purpoſe, they ſkilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, deſpaired of ſucceſs in his enterprize, and found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege. 1543.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE vanity of Henry was flattered, by the figure which he made in the great tranſactions on the continent: But the intereſts of his kingdom were much more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of ſo indolent and unambitious a character, that had he not been ſtimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aſpired to any ſhare in the adminiſtration; and when he found him-

[h] Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1543.

ſelf overpowered by the party of the Queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however diſhonourable. He even gave them a ſure pledge of his ſincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh communion in the Franciſcan church at Stirling. By this weakneſs and levity he loſt his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the proteſtants, who were hitherto the chief ſupport of his power, his moſt mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired the entire aſcendant in the kingdom: The Queen-dowager put implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretenſion: Lenox alone was become an obſtacle to his meaſures, and reduced him to ſome difficulty.

THE inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the intereſts of theſe two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cauſe, had flattered him with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown after their infant ſovereign, this rivalſhip had tended ſtill farther to rouze the animoſity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aſpire to the marriage of the Queen-dowager, which would have given him ſome pretenſions to the regency; and as he was become aſſuming, on account of the ſervices which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, ſince he muſt chooſe between the friendſhip of Lenox and Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more eaſily governed, and who was inveſted with preſent authority, was in every reſpect preferable. In order to remove the former, after the eaſieſt and leaſt obnoxious manner, he wrote to Francis, with whom he had entire credit, by means of the duke of Guiſe, father to the Queen-dowager; and after praiſing Lenox for his

paſt

paſt ſervices, he repreſented the preſent difficulties and obſtructions, which he occaſioned in the adminiſtration, and deſired that he might be recalled to France, where he enjoyed great credit and large poſſeſſions. But the impatience of Lenox to attain his purpoſes, allowed not this political artifice leiſure to operate. Finding that he was not likely to ſucceed in his pretenſions to the Queen-dowager, and that Arran prevailed in every conteſt, he retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely in his intereſts; he entered into a ſecret negociation with the Engliſh court; and he ſummoned his vaſſals and partizans to attend him. All thoſe who were inclined to the proteſtant religion, or were on any account diſcontented with the cardinal's adminiſtration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their ſervices. In a little time, he had collected an army of ten thouſand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate deſtruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppoſe to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foreſaw that Lenox could not long ſubſiſt ſo great an army, and he endeavoured to protract time, by opening a negociation with him. He ſeduced his followers, by various artifices; he engaged the Douglaſſes in his intereſts; he repreſented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions. And Lenox, finding himſelf engaged in an unequal conteſt, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of terms of accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Preſent peace was reſtored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his caſtles, and putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, waited the ſuccours of the Engliſh, from whoſe aſſiſtance alone he expected to obtain the ſuperiority over his enemies.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1544. 14 January. A Parliament.

WHILE the winter ſeaſon reſtrained Henry from military operations, he ſummoned a new Parliament; where a law was paſſed, ſuch as he was pleaſed to dictate, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the King's male iſſue, were firſt and immediate heirs to the kingdom, the Parliament reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion. This ſeemed a reaſonable piece of juſtice, and corrected what the King's former violence had thrown into confuſion; but it was impoſſible for Henry to do any thing, however laudable, without betraying, in ſome circumſtances, his uſual caprice and extravagance: Though he opened the way for theſe two princeſſes to mount the throne, he would not allow the act to be reverſed which had declared them both illegitimate; he made the Parliament confer on him a power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions which he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own iſſue, he might diſpoſe of the crown, as he pleaſed, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foreſee, that in proportion as he degraded the Parliament, by rendering them the paſſive inſtrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all their acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purpoſes which he was ſo bent to attain.

AN act was paſſed, that the King's uſual ſtile ſhould be "King of England, France, and Ireland, defender "of the faith, and on earth the ſupreme head of the "church of England and Ireland." It ſeemed a palpable inconſiſtency, to retain the title of Defender of the faith, which the ſee of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its cauſe againſt Luther; and yet ſubjoin his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, in oppoſition to the claims of that ſee.

AN

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

An act was also passed, for the remission of the debts, which the King had lately contracted by a general loan, exacted from the people. It will easily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary[i]. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of: That those who had already got payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the sums to the exchequer.

The oaths which Henry established for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses which they swore to, had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed, and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths, should be understood to have taken the new one[k]. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never consented to take.

The most commendable act to which the Parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and ordained, that no person should be put to his trial upon any accusation concerning any of the offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorized for that purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

[i] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [k] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1544.

THE King always experienced the limits of his exorbitant authority whenever he demanded ſubſidies, however moderate, from the Parliament; and, therefore, not to hazard a refuſal, he made no mention this ſeſſion of a ſupply: But as his wars both with France and Scotland, as well as his uſual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourſe to other methods of filling his treaſury: Notwithſtanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his ſubjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five ſhillings to forty-eight an ounce; and ſilver from three ſhillings and nine pence to four ſhillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywiſe ſerve the purpoſe. He even coined ſome baſe money, and ordered it to be current by his proclamation. He named commiſſioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about ſeventy thouſand pounds by that expedient. Read, alderman of London [l], a man ſomewhat advanced in years, having refuſed to contribute his ſhare, or not coming up to the expectations of the commiſſioners, was inrolled as a foot ſoldier in the Scottiſh wars, and was there taken priſoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into priſon, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large compoſition [m]. Theſe powers of the prerogative, (which at that time paſſed for unqueſtioned) the King's compelling any man to ſerve in any office, and impriſoning any man during pleaſure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the ſovereign, in a manner, abſolute maſter of the perſon and property of every individual.

EARLY this year the King ſent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet conſiſted of near two

l Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292.
m Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 588.

hundred

hundred veſſels, and carried on board ten thouſand men. Dudley lord Liſle commanded the ſea forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were diſembarked near Leith; and after diſſipating a ſmall body which oppoſed them, they took that town without reſiſtance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon beat down (for little or no reſiſtance was made); and the Engliſh firſt pillaged, and then ſet fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppoſe ſo great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eaſtward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the eaſt marches, he laid waſte the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retired into England; having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected ſome forces; but finding that the Engliſh were already departed, he turned them againſt Lenox, who was juſtly ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making ſome reſiſtance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry ſettled a penſion on him, and even gave him his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox ſtipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he muſt have reduced his country to a total ſervitude [n].

18th May.

HENRY's policy was blamed in this ſudden and violent incurſion; by which he inflamed the paſſion of the Scots, without ſubduing their ſpirit; and it was commonly ſaid, that he did too much, if he intended to ſolicit an alliance, and too little, if he meant a conqueſt [o]. But the reaſon of his withdrawing the troops ſo ſoon, was his eagerneſs to carry on his projected enterprize againſt France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the em-

[n] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23, 29.

[o] Herbert. Burnet.

peror,

CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

peror, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and muſt, as a neceſſary conſequence, have involved the ſubjection of England. Theſe two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thouſand men: Henry engaged to ſet out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: They were to enter on no ſiege, but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. Francis could not oppoſe to theſe formidable preparations, much above forty thouſand men.

14th July. Campaign in France.

HENRY, having appointed the Queen regent during his abſence, paſſed over to Calais with thirty thouſand men, accompanied with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the moſt flouriſhing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The Engliſh army was ſoon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and the whole compoſed an army, which nothing on that frontier was able to reſiſt. The chief force of the French army was drawn to the ſide of Champagne, in order to oppoſe the imperialiſts.

THE emperor, with an army of near ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to loſe time, while he waited for the march of his confederate, he ſat down before Luxembourg, which he took: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuſe, which was ſurrendered to him: Ligny met with the ſame fate: He next laid ſiege to St. Diſier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave reſiſtance, under

under the count de Sancerre, the governor, and the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation.

1544.

THE emperor was employed before this town at the time the Engliſh forces were aſſembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceleſs condition of the French frontiers, or thinking that the emperor had firſt broke engagements by forming ſieges, or, perhaps, foreſeeing at laſt the dangerous conſequences of deſtroying entirely the French power, inſtead of marching forward to Paris, ſat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The King himſelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation. 14th September.

DURING the courſe of this ſiege, Charles had taken St. Diſier; and finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour, and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broke the concert by forming ſieges. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of the Engliſh. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the 18th September.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1544.

the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piemont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count d'Anguyen over the imperialiſts at Ceriſolles in Piemont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to ſeparate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ſerved, to the populace, as matter of great triumph; but all men of ſenſe concluded, that the King had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at an infinite charge, an acquiſition which was of no manner of conſequence.

30th September.

THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waſte the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merſe, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took poſſeſſion of, and fortified. The regent aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, in order to diſlodge them from this poſt; but he had no ſooner opened his batteries before the place, than a ſudden panic ſeized him, and he fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutinies of his army, and pretended to be afraid leſt they ſhould deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh: But his own unwarlike ſpirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this diſhonourable retreat. The Scots army, upon the departure of their general, immediately fell into confuſion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the Engliſh might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this

this ſucceſs, boaſted to Henry, that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty ſuch acquiſitions would be maintained againſt a warlike people, adviſed the King to grant him, as his reward, the conqueſts of which he ſo highly boaſted. The next inroad made by the Engliſh, ſhewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thouſand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him, that ſome Scots forces appeared near the abbey of Melroſs. Angus had excited the regent to more activity; and a proclamation being iſſued for aſſembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a conſiderable body had repaired to his ſtandard. Norman Leſly, ſon to the earl of Rothes, had alſo joined the army with ſome volunteers from Fife; and he inſpired courage into the whole, as well by this acceſſion of force, as by his perſonal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the neceſſity of a ſteady defence, the Scots leaders ordered all their cavalry to diſmount; and they reſolved to wait, on ſome high grounds at Ancram, the aſſault of the Engliſh. The Engliſh, whoſe paſt ſucceſſes had taught them too much to deſpiſe the enemy, thought, when they ſaw the Scots horſes led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they haſtened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the ſurprize of the Engliſh, who expected no reſiſtance, they ſoon put them to flight, and purſued them with a conſiderable ſlaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thouſand men were made priſoners. In order to ſupport the Scots in this war, Francis, ſome time after, ſent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thouſand five hundred men, under the

CHAP. XXXIII.

1544.

1545.

17th of February.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1545. the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges [p]. Reinforced by theſe ſuccours, the regent aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the eaſt borders of England. They laid all waſte wherever they came; and having met with no conſiderable reſiſtance, they retired into their own country, and diſperſed themſelves. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and weſt marches; and the war on both ſides was ſignalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any conſiderable advantage gained by either party.

THE war likewiſe between France and England was not diſtinguiſhed this year by any memorable events. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies; and having embarked ſome land forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England [q]. They ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor in St. Helens. It conſiſted not of above an hundred ſail; and the admiral thought it moſt adviſable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow paſſages and rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded one another for two days; and except the ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of the largeſt ſhips of the Engliſh fleet, the damage on both ſides was inconſiderable. The French landed troops in the Iſle of Wight, and committed ravages; but being repulſed by the militia of the country, they retired to their ſhips, which ſoon after ſet ſail for France. They were again driven by the wind on the coaſt of England, where they met with the Engliſh fleet; and a new cannonading enſued, which proved no more deciſive than the foregoing. It was indeed

[p] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond. [q] Beleair. Memoires du Bellay.

ſcarce

ſcarce poſſible, that a fleet at that time could, without boarding, gain any conſiderable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly ſo ill ſerved, that a French writer of memoirs[r] obſerves, as a circumſtance ſomewhat ſingular, that each of theſe numerous fleets in a two hours engagement, fired full three hundred ſhot. One ſmall ſhip in our time could, without difficulty, do thrice as much.

FRANCIS's chief intention, in equipping ſo great a fleet, was to prevent the Engliſh from throwing ſuccours into Boulogne, which he intended to beſiege; and for that purpoſe, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he propoſed to block up the harbour. After a conſiderable loſs of money and time, the fort was found ſo ill conſtructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had brought together, on that frontier, an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterprize. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which ſerved commonly to ſupply the garriſon with proviſions; and he laid it entirely waſte by fire and ſword. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued between the French and Engliſh, in one of which the duke of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and noſe; and notwithſtanding that the lance broke and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not diſmounted by ſo violent a ſhock, and the head of the lance being extracted by a ſkilful ſurgeon, he afterwards recovered, and rendered himſelf extremely famous by the name of the duke of Guiſe. Henry, in order to defend his dominions in France, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurines in the biſhopric of Liege, found that

[r] De Langey.

they

CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a ſuperior army on the ſide of France ready to intercept them: Idleneſs and want of pay ſoon bred a mutiny among them: And having ſeized the Engliſh commiſſaries as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There ſeems to have been ſome want of foreſight and contrivance in this expenſive armament.

23d November. A Parliament.

THE great expence of theſe two wars, maintained by Henry, obliged him to ſummon a new Parliament. The commons granted him a ſubſidy, payable in two years, of two ſhillings a pound on land[s]: The ſpirituality voted him ſix ſhillings a pound. But the Parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, thought to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; and by one vote they beſtowed on the King all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels[t], and hoſpitals. Henry was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it encreaſed his power; but he had no intention of deſpoiling learning of all her endowments; and he ſoon took care to inform the univerſities, that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus theſe antient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owed their ſubſiſting to the generoſity of

[s] Thoſe who poſſeſſed goods or money, above five pound and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Thoſe above ten pound, a ſhilling.

[t] A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in ſome cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more prieſts, daily to ſay maſs or perform divine ſervice, for the uſe of the founders, or ſuch others as they appointed: Free chapels were independant on any church, and endowed for much the ſame purpoſe as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

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the King, not to the protection of this ſervile and proſtitute Parliament. CHAP. XXXIII.

THE proſtitute ſpirit of the Parliament appeared farther in the preamble of a ſtatute [u]; in which they recognize the King to have always been by the word of God ſupreme head of the church of England, and acknowledge, that archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, have no manner of juriſdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, ſay they, and ſuch perſons as he ſhall appoint, full authority and power is given from above to hear and determine all manner of cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and to correct all manner of hereſies, errors, vices and ſins whatſoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, nor even of a Parliament. His proclamations are acknowledged to have not only the force of a law, but the authority of a revelation; and by his royal power he may regulate the actions of men, and even direct their inward ſentiments and opinions. 1545.

THE King made in perſon a ſpeech to the Parliament on proroguing them; where, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he ſaid, equalled what was ever paid by their anceſtors to any King of England, he complained of their diſſenſions, diſputes and animoſities in religion. He told them, that the ſeveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries againſt each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptiſt, which was retaliated by the opprobrious terms of papiſt and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the uſe of the Scriptures, not in order to furniſh them materials for diſpute and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their conſciences and inſtruct their children and families: That it grieved his 24th December.

[u] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

CHAP. XXXIII.

heart to find how that precious jewel was proſtituted, by being introduced into the converſation of every alehouſe and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the ſpiritual and legal paſtors: And that he was ſorry to obſerve, that the word of God, while it was the object of ſo much anxious ſpeculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that tho' an imaginary knowlege ſo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay[a]. The King gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging ſpeculation and diſpute, was ill qualified to promote that peaceable ſubmiſſion of opinion, which he recommended.

1545.

1546. HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by Parliament; and he ſent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Liſle the admiral, to Calais with a body of nine thouſand men, two thirds of which conſiſted of foreigners. Some ſkirmiſhes enſued of ſmall conſequence; and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either ſide. Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had given ſufficient vent to his humour by this ſhort war; and finding, that from his great encreaſe in corpulence and decay in ſtrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was deſirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to peace with England; becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon, the duke of Orleans, he revived his antient claim upon Milan, and foreſaw, that hoſtilities muſt ſoon, on that account, break out between him and the Emperor. Commiſſioners therefore having met at Campe, a place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon agreed on, and the peace ſigned by them. The chief conditions were, that

7th June. Peace with France and Scotland.

[a] Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

Henry

Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis ſhould be paid. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjuſted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war, which coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling [b], was a bad ſecurity for a debt, which was not a third of the value. CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

THE King, being now freed from all foreign wars, had leiſure to give his attention to domeſtic affairs; and particularly to the eſtabliſhment of uniformity of opinion, on which he was ſo intent. Tho' he allowed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the maſs in Latin; but he was at laſt prevailed with to permit, that the Litany, a conſiderable part of the public ſervice, ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been ſomewhat diſcouraged by the ſeverity of the ſtatute of the ſix articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to ſave us *from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and from all his deteſtable enormities.* Cranmer was employing his authority to engage Henry to farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's abſence, who was ſent in an embaſſy to the emperor; but Gardiner, having wrote to the King, that, if he carried his oppoſition againſt the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the ſucceſs of Cranmer's projects was for that time retarded. Cranmer loſt this year the moſt ſincere and moſt powerful friend, whom he poſſeſſed at court; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: The Queen-dowager of France, ſpouſe to

[b] Herbert, Stowe.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

Suffolk, had died ſome years before. This nobleman is one inſtance, that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip; and Suffolk ſeems to have been entirely worthy of that favour, which, from his earlieſt youth, he had enjoyed with him. The King was ſitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took that occaſion both to expreſs his own ſorrow for the loſs, and to celebrate the merits of the deceaſed. He declared, that, during the whole courſe of their correſpondence, his brother-in-law had not made any attempt to injure an adverſary, and had never whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any one. "Is there any of you, "my lords, who can ſay as much?" When the King ſubjoined theſe words, he looked round in all their faces, and ſaw that confuſion, which the conſciouſneſs of ſecret guilt naturally threw upon them[c].

CRANMER himſelf, when bereaved of this ſupport, was the more expoſed to thoſe cabals of the courtiers, which the oppoſition of party and religion, joined to the uſual motives of intereſt, rendered ſo frequent among Henry's miniſters and counſellors. The catholics took hold of the King by his paſſion for orthodoxy; and they repreſented to him, that, if his laudable zeal for inforcing the truth met with no greater ſucceſs, it was owing altogether to the primate, whoſe example and encouragement were, in reality, the ſecret ſupports of hereſy. Henry, ſeeing the point to which they tended, feigned a compliance, and deſired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promiſing that, if he was found guilty, he would ſend him to the Tower, and bring him to condign puniſhment. All the world now gave the primate for loſt; and his old friends, from mercenary views, as well as the oppoſite party, from animoſity, be-

[c] Coke's Inſt. cap. 99.

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gan to ſhow him marks of neglect and diſregard. He was obliged to ſtand ſeveral hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at laſt called in, he was told, that they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. Cranmer ſaid, that he appealed to the King himſelf; and finding his appeal diſregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the King, he reproved them in the ſevereſt terms, and told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to cruſh all their cabals, and to teach them, by the ſevereſt diſcipline, ſince gentle methods were in vain, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, by ſaying, that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him, as a ſign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this reconciliation more ſincere on his part, than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances [d].

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

Perſecutions.

But tho' Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitleſs all accuſations againſt him, his pride and peeviſhneſs, irritated by his declining ſtate of health, carried him to puniſh with freſh ſeverity all others who preſumed to entertain a different opinion from himſelf, particularly in the capital point of the real preſence. Anne Aſcue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty [e], who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the Queen herſelf, was accuſed of dogmatizing on that de-

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranm.
[e] Bale, Speed, 780.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1546.

licate article; and Henry, instead of having indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked, that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the King, and told him, that as to the Lord's Supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: But while she could not be brought to acknowlege an assent to the King's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor, Wriothesely, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: But she maintained a very laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most cruel manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors[f] add a very extraordinary circumstance: That the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack farther; but the lieutenant refused compliance with that cruelty: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a

[f] Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the King, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

new

new refuſal: Upon which that magiſtrate, who was otherwiſe a perſon of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it ſo violently that he almoſt tore her body aſunder. Her conſtancy ſtill ſurpaſſed the barbarity of her perſecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being ſo diſlocated by the rack, that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried to the ſtake in a chair. Together with her, were brought Nicholas Belenian, a prieſt, John Laſſels of the King's family, and John Adams a taylor, who had been condemned for the ſame crime to the ſame puniſhment. They were all tied to the ſtake; and in that dreadful ſituation, the chancellor ſent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and ſigned, and ſhould inſtantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which conſumed them. Wriotheſely did not conſider, that this public and noted ſituation intereſted their honour the more to maintain a ſteady perſeverance. CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

But tho' the ſecrecy and fidelity of Anne Aſcue ſaved the Queen from this peril, ſhe ſoon after fell into a new danger, from which ſhe very narrowly eſcaped. There was an ulcer broke out in the King's leg, which, joined to his extreme corpulency and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him, even more than uſual, peeviſh and paſſionate. The Queen, during this time, attended him with the moſt tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every ſoothing art and compliance, to allay thoſe guſts of humour, to which he was become ſo ſubject. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catherine, whoſe good ſenſe

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

made her capable of diſcourſing on any ſubject, was frequently engaged into the argument; and being ſecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, ſhe unwarily diſcovered too much of her mind on theſe occaſions. Henry, highly provoked that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, made complaints of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praiſed the King's anxious care for preſerving the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and repreſented, that the more elevated the perſon was who was chaſtiſed, and the more near to his perſon, the greater terror would the example ſtrike into every one, and the more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to all poſterity. The chancellor, being conſulted, was engaged by religious zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriotheſely executed his commands; and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned: For as it was high treaſon to throw ſlander upon the Queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. In going home, he chanced to drop this important paper from his pocket; and as ſome perſon of the Queen's party found it, it was immediately carried to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the King, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject which was ſo familiar to him, and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation, and obſerved, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecillity of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid,

by their first creation, were made subject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: And as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the King, "you "are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to "give than receive instructions." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was intitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics, whence, she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And "is it so, sweet-heart?" replied the King, "then we "are perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this turn, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the King's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The King spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the terms of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1546.

which he very liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate; and then ordered him to depart his preſence. She afterwards interpoſed to mitigate his anger: He ſaid to her, "Poor ſoul! you know not how little intitled this man "is to your good offices." From thenceforth, the Queen, having narrowly eſcaped ſo great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whoſe malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards recover his favour and good opinion [z].

But Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoured by ill health, burſt out ſoon after to the deſtruction of a man, who poſſeſſed a much ſuperior rank to Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a great part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greateſt ſubjects in the kingdom, and had rendered very conſiderable ſervices to the crown. The duke himſelf had in his youth diſtinguiſhed himſelf by naval enterprizes: He had much contributed to the victory over the Scots at Flouden: He had ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions againſt France. Fortune ſeemed to conſpire with his own induſtry, in raiſing him to the higheſt elevation. By the favours heaped on him from the crown, he had acquired an immenſe eſtate: The king had ſucceſſively been married to two of his nieces; and the King's ſon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Beſides his deſcent from the antient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had eſpouſed a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended by a female from Edward the third: And as he was believed ſtill to adhere

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 38.

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ſecretly to the antient religion, he was regarded, abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all theſe circumſtances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealouſy of Henry; and he foreſaw danger, during his ſon's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and to the new eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, from the attempts of ſo potent a ſubject. But nothing tended more to expoſe Norfolk to the King's vengeance, than the prejudices, which Henry had entertained againſt the earl of Surrey, ſon to that nobleman.

SURREY was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every accompliſhment, which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes, which were then in requeſt: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: He had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and being ſmit with the romantic gallantry of that age, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs by his pen and his lance, in every maſque and tournament. His ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by that caution and reſerve, which his ſituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne, when that town was taken by Henry; but though his perſonal bravery was unqueſtioned, he had been unfortunate in ſome rencounters with the French. The King, ſomewhat diſpleaſed with his conduct, had ſent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was ſo imprudent as to drop ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the miniſters, on account of this affront, which was put upon him. And as he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every propoſal of marriage, which was made him; Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the lady Mary; and he

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CHAP. XXXIII.

was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

1546. ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps too influenced by that old disgust, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against all her family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day confined to the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown, during this whole reign. He was accused, that he had entertained in his family some Italians who were *suspected* to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of entertaining a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, tho' both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice; and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes, for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned this nobleman for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

12th of December.

1547.

Execution of the earl of Surrey.

Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; as his services to the crown had been much greater. His dutchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than that he had once said, that the King was sickly,

sickly, and could not hold out long, and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, thro' the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a most pathetic letter to the King, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the King. He assembled the Parliament, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, tho' engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and tho' he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution, and he retired to his seat at Croydon [h]. The King was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence, that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the King, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower, that the King himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred the execution of the warrant, and it was not thought advisable by the council, to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

14 January.

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

THE

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

THE King's health had been long in a very declining condition; but for ſeveral days all thoſe near him plainly ſaw his end approaching. He was become ſo froward, that no one durſt inform him of his condition; and as ſome perſons, during this reign, had undergone the puniſhment of traitors for foretelling the King's death[1], every one was afraid, leſt, in the tranſports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, inflict death on the author of ſuch friendly intelligence. At laſt, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to diſcloſe to him the fatal ſecret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expreſſed his reſignation; and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for: But before that prelate arrived, he was ſpeechleſs, tho' he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes. Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: He ſqueezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months; and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

Death of the King.

THE King had made his will near a month before his deceaſe; where he confirmed the deſtination of Parliament, in leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: The two princeſſes he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without the conſent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor ſon. After his own children, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Frances Brandon, marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter to his ſiſter, the French Queen; then on Eleonor, counteſs of Cumberland, the ſecond daughter. In paſſing over the poſterity of the Queen of Scots, his eldeſt ſiſter, he made uſe of the power obtained from Parliament; but as he ſubjoined, that after the failure of the French Queen's poſterity, the crown ſhould de-

[1] Lanquet's Epitome of chronicles in the year 1541.

ſcend

ſcend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a queſtion, whether theſe words could be applied to the Scottiſh line. It was thought, that theſe princes were not the next heirs after the houſe of Suffolk, but before that houſe, and that Henry, by expreſſing himſelf in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely againſt that nation; and he maintained to the laſt that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Another circumſtance of his will may ſuggeſt the ſame reflection with regard to the ſtrange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for maſſes to be ſaid for delivering his ſoul from purgatory; and tho' he deſtroyed all thoſe inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors and others, for the benefit of *their* ſouls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he publiſhed during his latter years, he was yet determined, when matters came to the laſt, to take care, at leaſt, of his own future repoſe, and to adhere to the ſafer ſide of the queſtion [k].

His character.

It is difficult to give a juſt ſummary of this prince's qualities: He was ſo different from himſelf in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his hiſtory is his beſt character and deſcription. The abſolute, uncontrouled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumſtances which entitle him to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny, and cruelty, ſeem to exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He poſſeſſed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exerciſing dominion over men; courage,

[k] See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reaſonable ground to ſuſpect its authenticity.

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CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And tho' theſe qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and ſolid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extenſive capacity; and every one dreaded a conteſt with a man who was known never to yield, or to forgive, and who, in every controverſy, was determined, either to ruin himſelf or his antagoniſt. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worſt qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profuſion, rapacity, injuſtice, obſtinacy, arrogance, bigotry, preſumption, caprice: But neither was he ſubject to all theſe vices in the moſt extreme degree, nor was he, at intervals, altogether devoid of virtues: He was ſincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at leaſt of a temporary friendſhip and attachment. In this reſpect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his times ſerved to diſplay his faults in their full light: The treatment which he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his ſuperſtitious ſubjects, ſeemed to require the moſt extreme ſeverity. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that his ſituation tended to throw an additional luſtre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French King, rendered his alliance, notwithſtanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extenſive powers of his prerogative, and the ſubmiſſive, not to ſay ſlaviſh, diſpoſition of his Parliament, made it the more eaſy for him to aſſume and maintain that entire dominion by which his reign is ſo much diſtinguiſhed in the Engliſh hiſtory.

It may ſeem a little extraordinary, that notwithſtanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary adminiſtration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his ſubjects; but never was the object of their hatred:

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He ſeems even in ſome degree to have poſſeſſed, to the laſt, their love and affection[l]. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and perſonal bravery rendered him illuſtrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be ſaid, with truth, that the Engliſh in that age, were ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that, like eaſtern ſlaves, they were inclined to admire even thoſe acts of violence and tyranny, which were exerciſed over themſelves, and at their own expence. CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

WITH regard to foreign ſtates, Henry appears long to have ſupported an intercourſe of friendſhip with Francis, more ſincere and diſintereſted than uſually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealouſy of the emperor Charles, and ſome reſemblance in their characters, (tho' the compariſon is extremely to the advantage of the French monarch) ſerved as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is ſaid to have been affected with the King's death, and to have expreſſed much regret for the loſs. His own health began to decline: He foretold, that he ſhould not long ſurvive his friend[m]: And he died in about two months after him.

THERE were ten Parliaments ſummoned by Henry the eighth, and twenty-three ſeſſions held. The whole time in which theſe Parliaments ſat during this long reign, exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a year during the firſt twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged him afterwards to call theſe aſſemblies more frequently: But though theſe were the moſt important tranſactions that ever fell under the cognizance of Parliament, their devoted attachment to Henry's will, joined to their earneſt deſire of returning ſoon to their country ſeats, produced a very quick diſpatch of the bills, and made the ſeſſions of ſhort duration. All the King's

[l] Strype, vol. i. p. 389. [m] Le Thou.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was payed to the ſafety or liberty of the ſubject. Beſides the violent proſecution of whatever he was pleaſed to call hereſy, the laws of treaſon were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the diſparagement of the King, Queen, or royal iſſue, were ſubjected to that penalty; and ſo little care was taken in framing theſe rigorous ſtatutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; inſomuch, that, had they been ſtrictly executed, every man, without exception, muſt have fallen under the penalty of treaſon. By one ſtatute[a], for inſtance, it was declared treaſon to aſſert the validity of the King's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another[b], it was treaſon to ſay any thing to the diſparagement or ſlander of the princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them ſpurious would, no doubt, be conſtrued to their ſlander. Nor would even a profound ſilence with regard to theſe delicate points, be able to ſave a perſon from ſuch penalties. For by the former ſtatute, whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was ſubjected to the pains of treaſon. The King, therefore, needed only to propoſe to any one a queſtion with regard to the legality of either of his firſt marriages: If the perſon was ſilent, he was a traytor by law: If he anſwered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no leſs a traytor. So monſtrous were the inconſiſtencies, which aroſe from the furious paſſions of the King, and the ſlaviſh obedience of his Parliaments. It is hard to ſay, whether theſe contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed deſign of tyranny.

His laws.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the ſtatutes of this reign, whether with regard to police or commerce: Nothing can better ſhow

[a] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. [b] 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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the genius of the age than such a review of the laws. The abolition of the ancient religion contributed much to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crimes in the clergy: The church would not allow the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious exemptions: The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon [c]. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy: It exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The Parliament restrained these abuses. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason [d]; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason [e]: And it limited them in other particulars [f]. The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed very much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow [g]: Buts were ordered to be erected in every parish [h]: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich, for the service of the common people [i]. The use of crossbows and hand-guns was also prohibited [k]. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled, upon occasion, to engage in close fight with the

[c] 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1. [d] 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [e] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [f] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14. [g] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. [k] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

enemy [l]. Frequent muſters or arrays were alſo made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of ſubſtance were obliged to have a compleat ſuit of armour or harneſs, as it was called [m]. The martial ſpirit of the Engliſh, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, ſufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the King had then an abſolute power of commanding the ſervice of all his ſubjects, he could preſently, in caſe of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleaſed. When no faction or diviſion prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever dared to think of invading England. There is a ſaying of Francis the firſt, which ſhews the eſtimation in which the nation was held in Europe. That magnanimous prince boaſted, that, notwithſtanding the combination of Charles and Henry againſt him, in the year 1524, he ſhould be able to defend himſelf. Spain, ſays he, has no money; the Low Countries have no ſoldiers: And as to England, my frontier is ſtrong on that ſide [n]. The city of London alone could muſter fifteen thouſand men [o]. Diſcipline, however, was an advantage wanting to theſe troops; tho' the garriſon of Calais was a nurſery of officers; and Tournay firſt [p], Boulogne afterwards, ſerved to encreaſe the number. Every one, who ſerved abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees [q]. A general permiſſion was granted to diſpoſe of land by will [r]. The Parliament were ſo little jealous of their privileges, (which indeed were, at that time, ſcarce worth preſerving) that there is an inſtance of one Strode, who, becauſe he introduced into the lower houſe ſome bill re-

[l] Herbert. [m] Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollingſhed, p. 947. [n] P. Daniel. [o] Hall, fol. 235. Hollingſhed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577. [p] Hall, fol. 68. [q] 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15. [r] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

garding

garding tin, was very ſeverely treated by the Stannery courts of Cornwal: Heavy fines were impoſed on him; and upon his refuſal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and uſed in ſuch a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the Parliament took of this enormity, even in ſuch an inferior court, was to enact, that no man could be queſtioned afterwards for his conduct in Parliament[s]. This prohibition, however, muſt only be extended to the inferior courts: For as to the King and privy council, and ſtar-chamber, they were ſcarce bound by any law. There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which ſhews what uncertain ideas the Parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the ſovereign[t]. This duty had been voted to every King ſince Henry the fourth, during the term of his own life: Yet Henry the eighth had already been allowed to levy it ſix years without any law; and though there had been four Parliaments aſſembled, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reſtrain him from levying it. At laſt, the Parliament reſolved to give him that ſupply; but even in this conceſſion, they ſhow themſelves plainly at a loſs to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himſelf to levy it. They ſay, that the impoſition was made to endure during the natural life of the late King, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid to the preſent King that duty: They obſerve, that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no ſcruple to call that impoſition the King's due: They affirm, that he had ſuſtained great and manifold loſſes by thoſe who had defrauded him of this duty: And to provide a remedy, they vote him that ſupply during his life, and no longer. It is re-

CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

[s] 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8. [t] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

markable, that notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors, for more than a century, continued in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deserve that epithet, which all the world acquiesced in, and which gave no offence. But when Charles the first attempted to continue in the same course, which had now received the sanction of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it, and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent that measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

THE King was allowed to make laws for Wales, without consent of Parliament[a]. With regard to England, the restraint was little more than a formality.

THE foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into the other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of these countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both, in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns usually avoided the coming to this extremity; and though the King bore a much greater friendship to Francis, the propensity of the nation always lay towards the emperor.

IN 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; but were soon stopt by mutual agreement. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it of the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as

[a] 34 Hen. VIII.

usual:

usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and notwithstanding all his menaces, he could get no other answer from them [w]. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

The foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and hence the violent animosity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one doctor Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking up the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under sheriff, though extremely respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made enquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and con-

[w] Hall, folio 174.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

demned for treaſon. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the King, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he diſmiſſed them all without further puniſhment [x].

So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at leaſt fifteen thouſand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order from the council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for Queen Catherine [y]. Henry himſelf confeſſes, in an edict of the ſtar-chamber, printed among the ſtatutes, that the foreigners ſtarved the natives; and obliged them from idleneſs to have recourſe to theft, murder, and other enormities [z]. He alſo aſſerts, that the vaſt multitudes of the foreigners raiſed the price of grain and bread [a]. And to prevent the increaſe of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited to have above two foreigners in their houſe, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealouſy aroſe againſt the foreign merchants; and to comply with it, a law was enacted obliging all denizens to pay the duties impoſed upon aliens [b]. The Parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their ſkill. The priſoners in the kingdom, for debts and crimes, are aſſerted in an act of parliament, to be ſixty thouſand perſons and above [c].

THERE is a remarkable clauſe in a ſtatute paſſed near the beginning of this reign [d], by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed

[x] Stowe, 595. Hollingſhed, 840. [y] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232. [z] 21 Hen. VIII. [a] Ibid. [b] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. [c] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15. [d] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

from

from the flouriſhing condition which it had attained in former times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward the ſecond, that no magiſtrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep aſſize, ſhould, during the continuance of his magiſtracy, ſell either in wholeſale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law ſeemed very equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the aſſize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reaſon aſſigned is, that "ſince the making of that "ſtatute and ordinance, many and the moſt part of all "the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the "realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and "are not inhabited by merchants, and men of ſuch ſub-"ſtance as at the time of making that ſtatute: For at "this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the ſame "cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, "fiſhmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain "few others to bear the offices." Men have ſuch a propenſity to exalt paſt times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this reaſoning of the Parliament, without further evidence to ſupport it. So different are the views in which the ſame object appears, that ſome may be inclined to draw an oppoſite inference from this fact. A more regular police was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry the eighth than in any former period, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolſey, in a ſpeech to the Parliament, repreſented it as a proof of the increaſe of riches, that the cuſtoms had increaſed beyond what they were formerly [e].

BUT if there was really a decay of commerce and induſtry, and populouſneſs in England, the ſtatutes of this

[e] Hall, folio 110.

reign,

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

reign, except by aboliſhing monaſteries, and retrenching holidays, a circumſtance of conſiderable moment, were not in other reſpects well calculated to revive them. The fixing the wages of artificers was attempted[f]: Luxury in apparel was prohibited, by repeated ſtatutes[g]; and probably without ſucceſs. The chancellor and other miniſters were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheeſe, and butter[h]. A ſtatute was even paſſed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal[i]. Beef and pork were ordered to be ſold at a halfpenny a pound: Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing. The preamble of the ſtatute ſays, that theſe four ſpecies of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer ſort. This act was afterwards repealed[k].

THE practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into paſturage, ſtill continued[l]; as appears by the new laws which were enacted againſt that practice. The King was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farmhouſes were allowed to go to decay[m]. The unſkilful huſbandry was probably the cauſe why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of ſheep allowed to be kept in one flock, was reſtrained to two thouſand[n]. Sometimes, ſays the ſtatute, one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thouſand. It is remarkable, that the Parliament aſcribes the increaſing price of ſheep and mutton, to this increaſe of ſheep: Becauſe, ſay they, the commodity being got into few hands, the price of it is raiſed at pleaſure[o]. It is probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily increaſe

[f] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [g] 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. [h] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. [i] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [k] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11. [l] Strype, vol. i. p. 392. [m] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1. [n] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [o] Ibid.

of

of money: For it is impoſſible, that ſuch a commodity could be monopolized. Intereſt was fixed during this reign at ten per cent [p]. CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagabonds [q]; one of the circumſtances in government, which humanity would moſt powerfully recommend to a benevolent legiſlator; which ſeems, at firſt ſight, the moſt eaſily adjuſted; and which is yet the moſt difficult to ſettle in ſuch a manner, as to attain the end without deſtroying induſtry. The convents formerly were a ſupport to the poor; but at the ſame time tended to encourage idleneſs and beggary.

Henry, as he poſſeſſed himſelf ſome talents for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity college in Cambridge, and gave it very ample endowments. Wolſey founded Chriſt Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal college: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finiſhed his ſcheme, the King ſeized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that great miniſter, is ſaid to have given him the greateſt anxiety and concern [r]. But Henry afterwards reſtored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the firſt chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that univerſity into the moſt violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The ſtudents divided themſelves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and ſometimes fought with as great animoſity as was formerly exerciſed by thoſe hoſtile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek, being introduced into the univerſities, it divided alſo the Grecians themſelves into par-

[p] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9. [q] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 5. [r] Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

ties;

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547.

ties; and it was remarked, that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the proteſtants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the King and council to ſuppreſs innovations in this particular, and to preſerve the old ſound to the Greek alphabet. The riſe of the Greek language in Oxford, excited the emulation of Cambridge [t]. Wolſey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford, with copies of all the manuſcripts that were in the Vatican [u]. The countenance given to letters by this King and his miniſters, contributed to render learning faſhionable in England; and Eraſmus ſpeaks with great ſatisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry of that kingdom to men of knowlege [w]. It is needleſs to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man in that age, who had the leaſt pretenſion to be ranked among our claſſics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, ſeems to come the neareſt to that character.

[t] Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245. [u] Ibid. 249.
[w] Epiſt. ad Baniſium. Alſo epiſt. p. 368.

ED-

CHAP. XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

State of the regency.——Innovations in the regency.——Somerset protector.——Reformation compleated.——Gardiner's opposition.——Foreign affairs.——Progress of the reformation in Scotland.——Assassination of cardinal Beaton.——Conduct of the war with Scotland.——Battle of Pinkey.——A Parliament.——Farther progress of the reformation.——Affairs of Scotland.——Young Queen of Scots sent into France.——Cabals of lord Seymour.——Dudley earl of Warwick.——A Parliament.——Attainder of lord Seymour.——His execution.——Ecclesiastical affairs.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

State of the regency.

THE late King, by the regulations, which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined, that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his life-time, would never afterwards depart from the plan, which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the Prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was at present only a few months past nine, he appointed

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

pointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the King and kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these sixteen executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were added twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edmund Peckham[a]. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the King's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

BUT the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late King in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was

[a] Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

suggested,

ſuggeſted, that the government would loſe its dignity, for want of ſome head, who might repreſent the royal majeſty, who might receive addreſſes from foreign ambaſſadors, to whom diſpatches from Engliſh miniſters abroad might be carried, and whoſe name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: And as the King's will ſeemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was concluded neceſſary to ſupply it, by chooſing a protector; who, though he ſhould poſſeſs all the exterior ſymbols of royal dignity, ſhould yet be bound, in every exerciſe of power, to follow the opinion of the executors [b]. This propoſal was very diſagreeable to chancellor Wriotheſely. That magiſtrate, a man of an active ſpirit and high ambition, found himſelf, by his office, entitled to the firſt rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew, that that prelate had no talent nor inclination for ſtate affairs, he hoped, that the direction of public buſineſs would of courſe devolve in a great meaſure upon himſelf. He oppoſed, therefore, this propoſal of chooſing a protector; and repreſented that innovation as an infringement of the King's will, which, being corroborated by act of Parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the ſame authority, which had eſtabliſhed it. The executors and counſellors were moſtly courtiers, who had been raiſed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great dependances; and as they had been ſufficiently accuſtomed to ſubmiſſion during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretenſions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquieſced the more willingly in a propoſal, which ſeemed calculated for preſerving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of courſe on the earl

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

of

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

Somerset protector.

of Hertford, who, as he was the King's maternal uncle, was ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety; and having no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt, which might engage him to endanger Edward's perſon or his authority [c]. The public were informed by proclamation of this change in the adminiſtration; and diſpatches were ſent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All thoſe poſſeſſed of any office reſigned their former commiſſions, and took out new ones in the name of the young King. The biſhops themſelves were conſtrained to make a like ſubmiſſion. Care was taken to inſert in their new commiſſions, that they held their office during pleaſure [d]: And it is there expreſsly affirmed, that all manner of authority and juriſdiction, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, is originally derived from the crown [e].

THE executors ſhowed, in their next meaſure, a more ſubmiſſive deference to Henry's will; becauſe many of them found their own account in it. The late King had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to ſupply the place of thoſe who had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of iſſue; and that he might enable the perſons to ſupport their new dignity, he had reſolved either to beſtow eſtates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone ſo far as to inform them of this reſolution; and in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promiſes [f]. That they might aſcertain his intentions in the moſt authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always converſed in a familiar manner, were called before the

[c] Heylin, Hiſt. Ref. Edw. VI. [d] Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. [e] Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. [f] Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

board

board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the King's promiſes, their teſtimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling theſe engagements. Hartford was created duke of Somerſet, marſchal and lord treaſurer; Wriotheſely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marqueſs of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral: Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron g. Several, to whom the ſame dignity was offered, refuſed it; becauſe the other part of the King's promiſe, the beſtowing eſtates on theſe new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, particularly Somerſet the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with ſpiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For among many other invaſions of eccleſiaſtical privileges and properties, this irregular practice, of beſtowing ſpiritual benefices on laymen, began now to prevail.

1547. 17th of February.

THE earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an oppoſite party to Somerſet; and it was not likely that factions, which had ſecretly prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, ſhould be ſuppreſſed in the weak adminiſtration, which uſually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leiſure for attending to ſtate-affairs, had, of himſelf and from his own authority, put the great ſeal in commiſſion, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute in his abſence the office of chancellor. This meaſure ſeems very exceptionable; and the more ſo, as two of the commiſſioners being ca-

g Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

 noniſts,

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

noniſts, the lawyers ſuſpected, that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to diſcredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to depreſs Southampton. They conſulted the judges with regard to ſo unuſual a caſe, and received for anſwer, that the commiſſion was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his preſumption in granting it, had juſtly forfeited the ſeals, and was even liable to puniſhment. The council ſummoned him to appear before them; and though he maintained, that he held his office by the late King's will, founded on an act of Parliament, and could not loſe it without a trial before the Parliament; that if the commiſſion, which he had granted, was found illegal, it might be declared null and void, and all the ill conſequences of it be eaſily remedied; and that the depriving him of the ſeals for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized; the council, notwithſtanding all theſe topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited his office; that a fine ſhould be impoſed upon him; and that he ſhould be confined to his own houſe during pleaſure [h].

THOUGH the removal of Southampton encreaſed the protector's authority, as well as tended to ſuppreſs factions in the regency; yet was not Somerſet contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to ſeek ſtill farther acquiſitions. On pretence, that the vote of the executors, chooſing him protector, was not a ſufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young King, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry the eighth, produced a total revolution in the government, and may ſeem even to have ſubverted

12 March.

[h] Hollingſhed, p. 979.

all

all the laws of the kingdom. He named himſelf protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counſellors, and all the executors except Southampton: He reſerved a power of naming any other counſellors at pleaſure: And he was bound to conſult with ſuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewiſe empowered to act at diſcretion, and to execute whatever they thought ſerviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ſtatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatſoever[1]. Even had this patent been leſs exorbitant in its conceſſions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might juſtly be queſtioned; ſince it ſeems eſſential to a truſt of this nature to be exerciſed by the perſons entruſted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not ſo much as mentioned, appears to have been ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a minor King, the protectorſhip of Somerſet was a plain uſurpation, which it is impoſſible by any arguments to juſtify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their preſent acquieſcence in the new eſtabliſhment, made it be univerſally ſubmitted to; and as the young King diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was alſo in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of ſenſe, likewiſe, who ſaw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the oppoſite ſects, thought it the more neceſſary to entruſt the government to one perſon, who might check the exorbitancies of party, and enſure the public tranquillity. And though ſome clauſes of the patent ſeemed to imply a formal ſubverſion of all liberty or

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. Records, N° 6.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

limited government, ſo little jealouſy was then uſually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretenſions of this nature, advanced by any perſon, poſſeſſed of ſovereign power. The actual exerciſe alone of arbitrary adminiſtration, and that in many and great and flagrant and unpopular inſtances, was able ſometimes to give ſome umbrage to the nation.

Reformation compleated.

THE extenſive authority and imperious character of Henry, had retained the partizans of both religions in ſubjection; but upon his deceaſe, the hopes of the proteſtants and the fears of the catholics began to revive, and the zeal of theſe parties produced every where diſputes and animoſities, the uſual preludes of more fatal diviſions. The protector had long been regarded as the ſecret partizan of the reformers; and being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to expreſs his intention of correcting all the abuſes of the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the proteſtant innovations. He took care, that all the perſons, to whom he entruſted the King's education, ſhould be attached to the ſame principles; and as the young Prince diſcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foreſaw, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith; and they early began to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council ſeemed to retain any attachment to the Romiſh communion; and moſt of the counſellors appeared even ſanguine in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. The riches which moſt of them had acquired from the ſpoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by eſtabliſhing a contrariety of ſpeculative tenets, as well as of diſci-

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pline and worſhip, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable[k]. Their rapacity alſo, the chief ſource of their reforming ſpirit, was excited by the proſpect of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew, that, while any ſhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the eccleſiaſtics, they never could hope to ſucceed in their pretenſions.

THE numerous and burthenſome ſuperſtitions, with which the Romiſh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the ſpirit of oppoſition, into an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior obſervances were zealouſly aboliſhed by them, as hindrances of their ſpiritual contemplations, and obſtructions to their immediate converſe with heaven. Many circumſtances concurred to enflame this daring ſpirit; the novelty itſelf of their doctrines, the triumph of making proſelytes, the furious perſecutions to which they were expoſed, their animoſity againſt the antient tenets and practices, and the neceſſity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depreſſing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the oppoſition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with conſequences, which, though leſs durable, were, for ſome time, no leſs dangerous than thoſe which were connected with the ancient ſuperſtition. But as the magiſtrate took the lead in England, the tranſition was more gradual; much of the antient religion was ſtill preſerved; and a reaſonable degree of ſubordination was retained in diſcipline, as well as ſome pomp, order, and ceremony in public worſhip.

[k] Goodwin's Annals, Heylin.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

THE protector, in his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourſe to the councils of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averſe to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by inſenſible innovations, to that ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline, which he deemed the moſt pure and perfect. He probably alſo foreſaw, that a ſyſtem, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be moſt laſting; and that a devotion, merely ſpiritual, was fitted only for the firſt fervours of a new ſect, and upon the relaxation of theſe naturally gave place to the inroads of ſuperſtition. He ſeems therefore to have intended the eſtabliſhment of a hierarchy, which, being ſuited to a great and ſettled government, might ſtand as a perpetual barrier againſt Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthuſiaſtic zeal was diminiſhed or entirely evaporated.

Gardiner's oppoſition.

THE perſon, who oppoſed, with greateſt authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; who, tho' he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of ſome late diſguſts, which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the higheſt truſt and confidence of his party. This prelate continued ſtill to magnify the great wiſdom and learning of the late King, which were generally and ſincerely admired by the nation; and he inſiſted on the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young King's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical model, eſtabliſhed by that great monarch. He defended the uſe of images, which were now very openly attacked by the proteſtants; and he repreſented them as ſerviceable in maintaining a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude [a]. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which biſhop Ridley had decried in a

[a] Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.

ſermon;

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

sermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of our Saviour's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind [b]. Above all, he insisted, that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament [c].

But tho' there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with the present exercise of authority; this plea could scarcely, in the present case, be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force and authority of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his influence in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the authority of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England [d]. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purpose of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the antient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present all images which had not been abused to idolatry;

[b] Fox, vol. ii. p. 724.
[c] Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.
[d] Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547. and to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe ſuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of ſome particular ſuperſtitions, ſuch as the ſprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or uſing of bleſſed candles, in order to drive away the devil [f].

BUT nothing required more the correcting hand of authority, than the abuſe of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the antient practices and ſuperſtitions. The court of augmentations, in order to eaſe the King of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and theſe men were led by intereſt, as well as inclination, to ſupport thoſe principles, which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to reſtrain the topics of their ſermons: Twelve homilies were publiſhed, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without expreſs permiſſion, to preach any where but in their pariſh churches. The deſign of this injunction was to throw a reſtraint on the catholic divines; while the proteſtant, by the grant of particular licences, ſhould be allowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made ſome oppoſition to theſe meaſures; but ſoon after retracted and acquieſced. Gardiner was more high-ſpirited and more ſteady. He repreſented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the neceſſity of adhering to ſome ſyſtem. "'Tis a dangerous thing," ſaid he, "to uſe too much freedom, in reſearches of this kind. "If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run fur- "ther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the "humour of novelty, you cannot put a ſtop to people's "demands, nor govern their indiſcretions at pleaſure. "For my part," ſaid he, on another occaſion, "my

[f] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

"ſole

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

"ſole concern is to manage the third and laſt act of my "life with decency, and to make a handſome exit off the "ſtage. Provided this point is ſecured, I am not ſolicit- "ous about the reſt. I am already by nature condemned "to death: No man can give me a pardon from this ſen- "tence; nor ſo much as procure me a reprieve. To "ſpeak my mind, and to act as my conſcience directs, "are two branches of liberty, which I can never part "with. Sincerity in ſpeech, and integrity in action, are "entertaining qualities: They will ſtick by a man, "when every thing elſe takes its leave; and I muſt not "reſign them upon any conſideration. The beſt on it is, "if I do not throw them away myſelf, no man can force "them from me: But if I give them up, then am "I ruined by myſelf, and deſerve to loſe all my prefer- "ments[g]." This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was ſent to the Fleet, where he was uſed with ſome harſhneſs and ſeverity.

ONE of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner againſt the new homilies, was that they defined with the moſt metaphyſical preciſion the doctrine of grace, and of juſtification by faith; points, he thought, which it was ſuperfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehenſion of the vulgar. A famous martyrologiſt calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An inſenſible aſs, and one that had no "feeling of God's ſpirit in the matter of juſtification[h]." The meaneſt proteſtant imagined at that time, that he had a full comprehenſion of all thoſe myſterious doctrines, and he heartily deſpiſed the moſt learned and knowing perſon of the antient religion, who acknowleged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain,

[g] Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliothica Brittanica, article GARDINER. [h] Fox, vol. ii,

that

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547. that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of juſtification, and might venture to expect its ſucceſs, in oppoſition to all the ceremonies, ſhows, and ſuperſtitions of popery. By exalting Chriſt and his ſufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourſelves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with thoſe principles of panegyric and of ſelf-abaſement, which generally have place in religion.

TONSTAL, biſhop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made ſome oppoſition to the new regulations, was diſmiſſed the council-board; but no farther ſeverity was, for the preſent, exerciſed againſt him. He was a man of perfect moderation, and of the moſt unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

Foreign affairs.

THE ſame religious zeal which engaged Somerſet to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the intereſts of the proteſtants were now expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance and after long delays, had at laſt ſummoned a general council, which was aſſembled at Trent, and was employed in correcting the abuſes of the church, and in aſcertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who deſired to repreſs the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the proteſtants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatneſs ſo deeply intereſted, deſired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave inſtructions to his legates, who preſided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in altercations, and arguments, and diſputes concerning the nice points of faith, canvaſſed before them: A policy, which was ſo eaſy to be executed, that the legates found it rather neceſſary to interpoſe, in order to appeaſe the animoſity of the divines, and bring them at laſt to ſome deciſion[i]. The more difficult taſk for the legates

[i] Father Paul, lib. 2.

was

was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repreſs the ambition of the prelates, who deſired to exalt the epiſcopal authority on the ruins of the ſovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become intractable, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broke out at Trent, transferred of a ſudden the council to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under the direction of his holineſs.

THE emperor, no leſs than the pope, had learned to make religion ſubſervient to his ambition and policy. He was reſolved to employ the imputation of hereſy as a pretence for ſubduing the proteſtant princes, and oppreſſing the liberties of Germany; but found it requiſite to cover his intentions under a deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adverſaries. He ſeparated the Palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the proteſtant confederacy: He took arms againſt the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe: By the fortune of war he made the former priſoner: He employed treachery and prevarication againſt the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a ſafe-conduct which he had granted him. He ſeemed to have reached the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aſtoniſhed with his ſucceſs, were farther diſcouraged by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death firſt of Henry the eighth, then of Francis the firſt, their uſual reſources in every calamity [k].

HENRY the ſecond, who ſucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and ability; but leſs prompt in his reſolutions than Francis, and leſs enflamed with rivalſhip and animoſity againſt the emperor, Charles. Tho' he ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promiſed them his protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry

[k] Sleidan.

into

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

into a war againſt ſo great a power as that of the emperor, and he thought that the alliance of theſe princes was a ſure reſource, which he could at any time lay hold of [l]. He was much governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the Queen-dowager of Scotland, and he hearkened to their counſel, in chuſing rather to give immediate aſſiſtance to that antient ally, which, even before the death of Henry the eighth, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Progreſs of the reformation in Scotland.

THE hatred between the two factions, the partizans of the antient and thoſe of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the reſolution, which the cardinal primate had taken to employ the moſt rigorous puniſhments againſt the reformers, brought matters to a quick deciſion. There was one Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himſelf with great zeal in preaching againſt the antient ſuperſtitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were juſtly terrified with the danger of ſome fatal revolution in religion. This man was much celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extenſive learning: But theſe praiſes cannot be much depended on; becauſe, we know, that, among the reformers, ſeverity of manners ſtood in place of many virtues; and the age was in general ſo ignorant, that moſt of the prieſts in Scotland imagined the New Teſtament to be a compoſition of Luther's, and aſſerted that the Old alone was the word of God [m]. But however the caſe

[l] Pere Daniel.

[m] Spotſwood, p. 75. The ſame author, p. 92, tells us a ſtory, which confirms this character of the popiſh clergy in Scotland. It became a great diſpute in the univerſity of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* ſhould be ſaid to God or the ſaints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the ſaints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obſtinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was ſaid to God *for-*

CHAP. XXXIV.

case may have been with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with a desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents, 1547. which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the antient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily encreased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease till they had made him attonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate:

formaliter, and to saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate*: But the majority seemed to hold, that the *pater* was said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to saints *capiendo largè*. A simple fellow, who served the sub-prior, thinking there was some great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold so many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was; the sub-prior answering, *Tom*, that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the pater-noster should be said.* He suddenly replied, *To whom, Sir, should it be said, but unto God?* Then said the sub-prior, *What shall we do with the saints?* He answered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name; for that may suffice them.* The answer going abroad, many said, *that he had given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with all their distinctions.*

The

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547. The infected ſtood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in ſuch a ſituation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical miſſion [n].

THE aſſiduity and ſucceſs of Wiſhart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he reſolved, by the puniſhment of ſo celebrated a preacher, to ſtrike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arreſt him in his retirement; and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promiſe given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: And being poſſeſſed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for hereſy. Arran, the regent, was very irreſolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him to his party, found, that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wiſhart. He determined, therefore, without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm, to bring that heretic to puniſhment; and he himſelf beheld from his windows the diſmal ſpectacle. Wiſhart ſuffered with the uſual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his inſulting enemy. He foretold, that in a few days he would in the very ſame place lie as low, as now he was exalted aloft, in oppoſition to true piety and religion [o].

THIS prophecy was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and having aſſociated to them Norman Leſly, who was diſguſted on account of ſome private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified;

Aſſaſſination of cardinal Beaton.

[n] Knox's Hiſt. of Ref. p. 44. Spotſwood,

[o] Spotſwood, Buchanan.

and

and though they were not above ſixteen perſons, they thruſt out an hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle; and had barricadoe'd the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promiſe of life, he opened the door; and reminding them, that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more conſiderate in villany, ſtopped their career, and bid them reflect, that this ſacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with the utmoſt deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and "iniquities, but eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, "that inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe "lands: It is his death, which now cries vengeance upon thee: We are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved "puniſhment. For here, before the Almighty, I proteſt, that it is neither hatred of thy perſon, nor love "of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me "to ſeek thy death: But only becauſe thou haſt been, "and ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, "and his holy goſpel." Having ſpoke theſe words, without giving him leiſure to finiſh that repentance, to which he exhorted him, he thruſt him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet [p]. This murther was

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

[p] The famous Scots reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65, a man moſt gentle and moſt modeſt. It is very horrid, but at the ſame time ſomewhat amuſing, to conſider the joy and alacrity and pleaſure, which

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547. was executed on the 28th of May 1546. The aſſaſſins being reinforced by their friends to the number of an hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, tho' Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not reject this opportunity of diſturbing the government of that kingdom; and he agreed to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five ſhort reigns had been ſucceſſively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of juſtice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animoſities of the great. But beſides theſe inveterate and antient evils, a new ſource of diſorder had ariſen, the diſputes and contentions of theology, which were ſufficient to diſturb the moſt ſettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was poſſeſſed of ability and vigour, ſeemed much to weaken the hands of the adminiſtration. But the Queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtues; and ſhe did as much to ſupport the government, and ſupply the weakneſs of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her ſituation. A ſtipulation was made with the garriſon of St. Andrews, that they ſhould ſurrender the caſtle upon receiving a pardon, together with an abſolution from the Pope; and that they ſhould never afterwards be called in queſtion for Beaton's aſſaſſination. Meanwhile, till the pope's abſolution ſhould arrive, ſhe

which that hiſtorian diſcovers in his narration of this aſſaſſination: And it is remarkable that in the firſt edition of his work, theſe words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvil.* But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himſelf had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the aſſaſſins, and aſſiſted them in holding out the caſtle. See Keith's Hiſt. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.

applied

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

applied to France for ſuccours; and Henry ſent her ſome gallies, with a train of artillery, commanded by Strozzi, prior of Capua. Before the ſiege of St. Andrews was opened, the abſolution was ſent to the garriſon, and they were required to ſurrender; but becauſe the pope, among other exaggerations of the cardinal's murder, had ſaid, that he pardoned an unpardonable crime, the garriſon, fearing that this expreſſion was employed in order to enſnare them, refuſed to open their gates [q]. They were, however, ſoon obliged to depart from their obſtinacy: A great breach was made in the walls: The plague broke out among them: And ſeeing no hopes of ſuccour from England, they ſurrendered to the French upon conditions, which were not very ſcrupulouſly obſerved to them.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

THE protector of England, ſo ſoon as the government was brought to ſome compoſure, made preparations for the attack of Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if poſſible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late King had been ſo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He raiſed an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other loaded with proviſions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: He himſelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. Theſe hoſtile meaſures were covered with a pretence of revenging ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but beſides, that the protector revived the antient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that of Scotland, he refuſed to enter into negotiation on any other conditions than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

[q] Knox, p. 75. Spotſwood, Buchanan,

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

THE protector publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he inforced all the arguments for that meaſure. He ſaid, that nature ſeemed originally to have intended this iſland for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign ſtates, and guarded it by the ocean, ſhe had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happineſs and ſecurity: That the education and cuſtoms of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the ſame language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at laſt removed all obſtacles, and had prepared an expedient, by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealouſy either of honour or of intereſt, to which rival nations are naturally ſo much expoſed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved to a female; that of England to a male; and happily the two ſovereigns, as of a rank, were alſo of an age, the moſt ſuitable to each other: That the hoſtile diſpoſition, which prevailed between the nations, and which aroſe from paſt injuries, would ſoon be extinguiſhed, after a long and ſecure peace had eſtabliſhed confidence between them: That the memory of former miſeries, which at preſent inflamed their mutual animoſity, would then ſerve only to make them cheriſh, with more paſſion, a ſtate of happineſs and tranquillity, ſo long unknown to their anceſtors: That when hoſtilities had ceaſed between the kingdoms, the Scots nobility, who were at preſent obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike poſture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would ſoften their minds to a love of domeſtic order and obedience: That as this ſituation was deſirable to both kingdoms, ſo particularly to Scotland, which had been expoſed to the greateſt miſeries from inteſtine and foreign wars, and ſaw herſelf every moment in danger of loſing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That

tho'

CHAP. XXXIV.

tho' England had claims of ſuperiority, ſhe was willing to reſign every pretenſion for the ſake of future peace, and deſired an union, which would be the more ſecure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that beſides all theſe motives, poſitive engagements had been taken for the compleating this alliance, and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her intereſt and ſafety ſo loudly demanded[r]. 1547.

SOMERSET ſoon found, that theſe remonſtrances would have no influence; and that the Queen dowager's attachments to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himſelf therefore obliged to try the force of arms, and to conſtrain the Scots by neceſſity to ſubmit to a meaſure, for which they ſeemed to have entertained the moſt incurable averſion. He paſſed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any reſiſtance for ſome days, except from ſome ſmall caſtles, which were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. The protector intended to have puniſhed the governor and garriſon of one of thoſe caſtles for their temerity in reſiſting ſuch unequal force: But they eluded his anger by aſking only a few hours reſpite till they ſhould prepare themſelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy[s]. 2d of Sept.

THE governor of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double the number of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on very advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh came within ſight of them at Faſide; and after a ſkirmiſh between the horſe, where the Scots were worſted, and lord Hume

[r] Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.
[s] Haywood. Patten.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547. dangerouſly wounded, Somerſet prepared himſelf for a more deciſive action. But having taken a view of the Scots camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make any attempt upon it with a probability of ſucceſs. He wrote therefore another letter to Arran; and offered to retire out of the kingdom, as well as to repair all damages which he had committed, provided that the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the Queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, till ſhe reached the age of chooſing a huſband for herſelf. Such moderate terms were rejected by the Scots merely on account of their moderation; and they begat an opinion, that the protector muſt either be reduced to great diſtreſs or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate ſo much of his former pretenſions. Actuated alſo by their prieſts, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed, that the Engliſh were deteſtable heretics, abhorred of God, and expoſed to divine vengeance; and that no ſucceſs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they ſaw the protector change his ground, and move towards the ſea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his eſcape on board the ſhips, which at that very time moved into the bay, oppoſite to him[t]. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and paſſing the river Eſke, ad-
10th Sept. vanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry conſiſted only of light horſe, which were placed on their left flank, ſtrengthened by ſome Iriſh archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this ſervice.

SOMERSET was pleaſed when he ſaw this movement of the Scots army; and as the Engliſh had uſually been

[t] Hollingſhed, p. 985.

ſuperior

superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of ſucceſs. He arranged his van on his left, fartheſt from the ſea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy ſhould approach: He placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scots van in flank, but not till they ſhould be engaged in cloſe fight with the van of the Engliſh. The battle of Pinkey.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips: The maſter of Graham was killed: The Iriſh archers were thrown into diſorder; and even the other troops began to ſtagger: When the lord Grey, perceiving their ſituation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horſe made an attack on the Scots infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a ſlough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the Scots infantry armed with ſpears, and the field, on which they ſtood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay croſs their front, and diſordered the movements of the Engliſh cavalry. From all theſe accidents, the ſhock of this body of horſe was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottiſh ſpears, which were longer than the lances of the Engliſh horſemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and diſcomfited. Grey himſelf was dangerouſly wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, ſon to the protector, loſt his horſe: The ſtandard was near being taken: And had the Scots poſſeſſed any good body of cavalry, who could have purſued the advantage, the whole Engliſh army had been expoſed to great danger [x].

x Patten, Hollingſhed, p. 986.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

THE protector mean-while, aſſiſted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himſelf with diligence and ſucceſs, in rallying the cavalry. Warwic ſhowed great preſence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horſe had recoiled: He made Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot hackbutters, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of ſome Italian and Spaniſh hackbutters, on horſeback; and ordered them to ply the Scots infantry with their ſhot. They marched to the ſlough, and diſcharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ſhips galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infeſted them from the front: The Engliſh archers poured in a ſhower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, deſcending from the hill, advanced, leiſurely and orderly, towards them. Diſmayed with all theſe circumſtances, the Scots van began to retreat: The retreat ſoon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Iriſh archers. The pannic of the van communicated itſelf to the main body, and paſſing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight and conſternation. The Engliſh army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the purſuit with loud ſhouts and acclamations, which added ſtill more to the diſmay of the vanquiſhed. The horſe in particular, eager to revenge the affront, which they had received in the beginning of the day, performed the moſt bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the ſpace of five miles, the whole ground was ſtrowed with dead bodies. The prieſts above all, and the monks received no quarter; and the Engliſh made ſport of ſlaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animoſity, had engaged in an enterpriſe ſo ill ſuited to their profeſſion. Few victories have been more deciſive, or gained with ſmaller loſs to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred

dred of the Engliſh; and according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was called the Battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood. CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

THE Queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarce able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the Weſt Marches, at the head of five thouſand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring countries[y]. Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantage, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scots nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard, ſome counſellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority. Having taken the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places; and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired out of Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhips along the coaſt, took Broughty in the Firth of Tay, and having fortified it, they left there a garriſon. Arran deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerſet, having appointed Berwic for the place of meeting, left Warwic with full powers to negociate: But no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice, to gain time, till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, ſummoned a Parliament; And being ſomewhat elated with his ſuc- 4th November.

[y] Hollingſhed, p. 992.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

ceſs againſt the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench at the right hand of the King, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges which had uſually been poſſeſſed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the Kings of England. In this patent, the King diſpenſed with the ſtatute of precedency, enacted during the former reign [z]. But if Somerſet gave offence by aſſuming too much ſtate, he deſerves the higheſt praiſe on account of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, by which the rigour of former ſtatutes was much mitigated, and ſome ſecurity given to the freedom of the conſtitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third [a]; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollardies or hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles. None were to be accuſed of words but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſeveral of the moſt rigorous laws that ever were paſſed in England, were annulled, and ſome dawnings, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was ſubjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be defined or determined: A circumſtance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public ſecurity, according to the diſpoſition of the judges.

A Parliament.

A REPEAL alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the King's proclamation was made of equal force with a ſtatute [b]. That other law was likewiſe mitigated, by which the King was empowered to annul all laws paſſed before the four and twentieth year

[z] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.
[a] 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.
[b] 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

of

of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any paſſed effects, which had enſued from them [l]. CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

Some ſtatutes too were paſſed which were of the utmoſt importance, becauſe they promoted the principles and practices of the reformers, though they may not, all of them, appear to be attended with any material conſequences to civil ſociety. The cup was reſtored to the laity; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the King was empowered to create biſhops by letters patent, without any fictitious election of the chapter; the biſhops were ordered to iſſue their writs, and hold their courts in the King's name [m]; vagabonds were adjudged to be ſlaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron [n]; an act commonly ſuppoſed to be levelled againſt the ſtrolling prieſts and friars.

The chantries and free chapels had been given by act of Parliament to the late King; and he had appointed commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of the revenues; but as they had not proceeded far in the execution of their office, it was found neceſſary to make a renewal of the grant. The preamble to the ſtatute promiſes, that theſe funds ſhould be employed to good and godly uſes, in erecting grammar ſchools, in farther augmenting the univerſities, and in making better proviſion for the poor and needy [o]. But the rapacious courtiers had already devoured the prey in their imaginations; and it was not long before it was ſhared out among them.

It was alſo enacted, that all who denied the King's ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer impriſonment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence,

[l] 1 Edw. VI. c. 2. [m] Ibid. [n] 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.
[o] 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

ſhould

CHAP. XXXIV.

1547.

ſhould incur the pain of *præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of treaſon. But if any, after the firſt of March next, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the King of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to conſer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treaſon. If any of the heirs of the crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of ſucceſſion, it was declared treaſon in them, their aiders and abetters. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable acts paſſed during this ſeſſion. The members diſcovered a very paſſive diſpoſition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others harboured ſecretly a ſtrong inclination to the catholic faith: But the greateſt part appeared willing to take any impreſſion which they ſhould receive from intereſt, authority, or the reigning faſhion [m].

THE convocation met at the ſame time with the Parliament; and as it appeared, that their debates were at firſt cramped by the rigour of the ſtatute of the ſix articles, the King granted them a diſpenſation from that law, before it was repealed by Parliament [n]. The lower houſe of convocation applied to have liberty of ſitting with the commons in Parliament; or if this privilege was refuſed them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they deſired that no law regarding religion, might paſs in Parliament without their conſent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed, were more advantageous to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical power.

1548. THE protector had permitted the repeal of that law, which gave to the King's proclamations the authority of ſtatutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary

[m] Heylin, p. 48. [n] Antiq. Britan, p. 339.

of

or diſcretionary exerciſe of power, which had ever been aſſumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to diſtinguiſh exactly from the power of making laws. He even continued to exert this authority in ſome particulars, which were regarded as the moſt momentous. Orders were iſſued by council, that candles ſhould no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, palmes on Palm-ſunday [p]. Theſe were ancient religious practices, now denominated ſuperſtitions; tho' it is very fortunate for mankind, when ſuperſtition happens to take a direction ſo innocent and inoffenſive. The ſevere diſpoſition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewiſe the council to aboliſh ſome gay and ſhowy ceremonies, which belonged to the ancient religion [q].

CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

Farther progreſs of the reformation.

An order was alſo iſſued by the council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much deſired by all the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almoſt to a total change of the eſtabliſhed religion [r]. An attempt had been made to ſeparate the uſe of images from their abuſe, the reverence from the worſhip of them; but the execution of this deſign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to frame a new communion-office; and the council went ſo far, in the preface which they had prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent [s]. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the moſt

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.
[q] Burnet, vol. ii. [r] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55. [s] Burnet, vol. ii.

power-

CHAP. XXXIV.

1548. powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their ſpiritual guides an entire aſcendant over them. And it may juſtly be ſaid, that though the prieſt's abſolution, which attends confeſſion, ſerves ſomewhat to eaſe weak minds from the immediate agonies of ſuperſtitious terror, it operates only by enforcing ſuperſtition itſelf, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapſe into the ſame diſorders.

THE people were at that time extremely diſtracted, by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable to judge of the reaſons advanced on either ſide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church, as of equal authority, a great confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council firſt endeavoured to remedy that inconvenience, by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and thus put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit[t]. By the nature of things, this reſtraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip, its ſhews and exterior obſervances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a ſtronger attachment to ſermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amuſement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries ſomething to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were only delivered in the principal churches, and at ſome particular faſts and feſtivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abuſed, is ſo powerful an incitement to faction and ſedition, had much leſs ſcope and influence during thoſe ages.

[t] Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

THE

CHAP. XXXIV.

1548. Affairs of Scotland.

THE greater progreſs was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himſelf from all proſpect of compleating the union with Scotland; and the Queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averſe to all alliance with a nation which had departed ſo far from all ancient principles. Somerſet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified, by lord Gray: He alſo erected ſome fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped, that theſe two places, together with Broughty and ſome ſmaller fortreſſes, which were in the hands of the Engliſh, would ſerve as a curb to Scotland; and would give him acceſs into the heart of the country.

ARRAN, being diſappointed in ſome attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the ſuccours expected from France, for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Firth, to the number of ſix thouſand men; one half of whom were Germans. They were commanded by Deſſé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time ſo ſunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage the whole country without reſiſtance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital [u]: But on the appearance of the French ſuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Deſſé with a conſiderable reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington [w]. This was an undertaking for which they were themſelves totally unfit; being only practiſed in a kind of deſultory war, where they ſerved without pay, and with a few weeks proviſions, which they brought along with them. Even with the aſſiſtance of the French,

[u] Beaugé, hiſt. of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

[w] Hollingſhed, p. 993.

they

CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon; and after ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade of Haddington was formed. The garriſon were repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

THE hoſtile attempts which the late King and the protector had made againſt Scotland, not being ſteady, regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, had ſerved only to irritate the nation, and to inſpire them with the ſtrongeſt averſion to that confederacy which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance, were diſpleaſed to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular, ſaid pleaſantly, that he diſliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing [x]. The Queen-dowager, finding theſe ſentiments to prevail, called a Parliament, in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed, that the young Queen, for her greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſent to France, and be committed to the protection of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this meaſure was deſperate, allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage, expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. It was anſwered, on the other hand, that the Queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his guardianſhip, and uſe his utmoſt efforts to defend the kingdom. Theſe arguments were aided by French

[x] Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of an hundred men at arms [y]. And as all the clergy dreaded the consequences of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principles or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the Queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Firth of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: A very extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric [z]. The young Queen was there committed to him; and being attended with the lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Young Queen of Scots sent into France.

SOMERSET, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprize against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots took the fortresses of Hume and Fast-castle, by surprize, and put the garrison to the sword: They repulsed, with loss, the English, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, and then at Montrose: In the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to

[y] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchan. lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

[z] Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

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CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

the Queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areſkine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a conſiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt wholly cut in pieces[f]. And though a ſmall body of two hundred men eſcaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington, with ſome ammunition and proviſions, the garriſon was reduced to ſuch difficulties, that the protector found it neceſſary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand men, and adding three thouſand Germans, who, on the diſſolution of the proteſtant alliance, had offered their ſervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewſbury[g]. D'Eſſé raiſed the ſiege on the approach of the Engliſh; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he poſted himſelf advantageouſly. Shrewſbury, who had loſt the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durſt not give him battle in his preſent ſituation; and contenting himſelf with the advantage already gained of ſupplying Haddington, he retired into England.

WHILE the French troops remained in Scotland, many complaints had ariſen between them and the natives; and a ſmall accident[h] having excited a tumult in Edinburgh, the provoſt and his ſon were unfortunately killed by the French ſoldiers. This event encreaſed the animoſity between the two nations: But D'Eſſe, in order to make atonement for that act of violence, led his troops haſtily to Haddington, and in the night-time attempted to ſurprize the town. He found the garriſon unprepared to reſiſt him; and had already entered the

[f] Stowe, p. 595. Hollingſhed, p. 994.
[g] Hayward, p. 291.
[h] Beagué, p. 68. Knox, p. 81.

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THE French general was a man of ability and experience; but as he had not the good fortune to be acceptable to the Scots nation, it was thought proper to recall him, and to ſend over De Thermes in his place. D'Eſſé, before his departure, fortified Leith, which, from a ſmall village, ſoon became a conſiderable town, by the concourſe of inhabitants, who found there a ſecurity, which they could no where elſe enjoy in Scotland. He alſo attacked an Engliſh garriſon in Inchkeith, an iſland oppoſite to that harbour, and made them priſoners. After theſe exploits, he reſigned his command to De Thermes, who brought over with him Monluc, biſhop of Valence, a man celebrated for wiſdom and ability. This prelate was named chancellor of the kingdom; and it was probably intended, by his means, to inſpire the nation with ſome greater attachment to the principles of law and equity: But the Scots, impatient of reſtraint, and jealous of a foreigner, expreſſed ſuch diſcontent, that it was thought more prudent ſoon after to recall him[1].

THOUGH the protection of France was of great conſequence to the Scots, in ſupporting them againſt the invaſions of England, they reaped ſtill more benefit from the diſtractions and diviſions which had crept into the councils of that latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not contented with the high

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CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

1548. Cabals of lord Seymour.

ſtations which they ſeverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had riſen, had entertained the moſt violent jealouſy of each other's authority; and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their oppoſite cabals and pretenſions. Lord Seymour was a man of inſatiable ambition, arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and though eſteemed of ſuperior capacity to the protector, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the Queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the deceaſe of the late King: Inſomuch, that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which huſband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutcheſs of Somerſet, who, uneaſy that the younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her intereſt with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to create, and then to widen a breach between the two brothers [k].

THE firſt ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. The ſecretary, Paget, a man devoted to Somerſet, remarked, that Seymour was forming ſeparate intrigues among the counſellors; was corrupting, by preſents, the King's ſervants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget repreſented to him the danger of this conduct; deſired him to reflect on the numerous enemies whom the ſudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him that any diſſenſion

[k] Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden, Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69.

between him and the protector, would be greedily laid hold of, to draw on the ruin of both. Finding his remonſtrances ineffectual, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerſet, and engaged him to leave the enterprize upon Scotland unfiniſhed, in order to guard againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. In the enſuing Parliament, the admiral's projects appeared ſtill more hazardous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partizans and retainers, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He repreſented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept ſeparate from that of governor of the King's perſon; and that the preſent union of theſe two important truſts, conferred on Somerſet an authority which could not ſafely be lodged in any ſubject[a]. He even prevailed on the young King, to write a letter to the Parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and he had formed a party in the two houſes, by which he hoped to have effected his purpoſe. The deſign was diſcovered before its execution; and ſome common friends were ſent to remonſtrate with him, but had ſo little influence, that he threw out many menacing expreſſions, and raſhly threatned, that, if he was thwarted in his attempt, he would make this Parliament the blackeſt that ever was in England[b]. The council ſent for him, to anſwer for his conduct; but he refuſed to attend: They then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, that the King's letter, inſtead of availing him any thing to the execution of his purpoſe, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprize, and be conſtrued a deſign to diſturb the government, by forming a ſeparate intereſt with a child and minor. They even let fall ſome menaces of ſending

1548.

[a] Haynes, p. 82, 90. [b] Ibid. p. 75.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1548.

him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprizes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the Queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair[c]. But as Henry the eighth had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to attain; it was concluded, that he proposed to effectuate his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of all those who had more immediate access to the King's person: He endeavoured to seduce that young prince into his interests: He found means of holding a private correspondence with him: He openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that by enlisting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which endangered the King's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had distri-

[c] Haynes, p. 95, 96, 102, 108.

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buted his intereſt all over England: He neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and had computed, that he could, on occaſion, command the ſervice of ten thouſand men, among his ſervants, tenants, and retainers[d]: He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts Sir John Sharington, a very corrupt man, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting. Somerſet was well informed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, and endeavoured by the moſt friendly expedients, by intreaty, reaſon, and even by heaping new favours upon his brother, to make him depart from his precipitate councils: But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more ſevere remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill inſtrument between the brothers; and had formed the deſign, by inflaming the quarrel, to raiſe his own fortune on the ruins of both. CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

Dudley, earl of Warwic.

Dudley, earl of Warwic, was the ſon of that Dudley, miniſter to Henry the ſeventh, who having, by rapine, extortion, and perverſion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been ſacrificed to popular animoſity, in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign. The late King, ſenſible of the iniquity, at leaſt illegality of the ſentence, had afterwards reſtored young Dudley's blood by act of Parliament; and finding him endowed with ability, induſtry, and enterprize, he had entruſted him with many important commands, and had ever found him ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. He raiſed him to the dignity of viſcount Liſle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made ſtill farther progreſs during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of War-

[d] Haynes, p. 105, 106.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1548.

wic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the firſt rank among the protector's counſellors. The victory, gained at Pinkey, was much aſcribed to his courage and conduct; and he was univerſally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and war. But all theſe virtues were obſcured by ſtill greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an inſatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of juſtice: And as he found, that lord Seymour, whoſe ability and enterprize he chiefly dreaded, was involving himſelf in ruin, by his raſh councils, he was determined to puſh him over the precipice; and thereby remove the chief obſtacle to his own projected greatneſs.

When Somerſet found that the public peace was expoſed by his brother's ſeditious, if not rebellious, ſchemes, he was the more eaſily perſuaded, by Warwic, to employ the extent of royal authority againſt him; and after depriving him of the office of admiral, he ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were alſo taken into cuſtody; and three privy counſellors, being ſent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full and important diſcoveries. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow, and ſhowed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to depart from the proſecution, if Seymour would promiſe him a cordial reconcilement; and relinquiſhing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other anſwer to theſe friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles[e]; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was ſo inconteſtibly proved, both by witneſſes and his own hand-

e Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

writing,

writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the priſoner. He was not daunted by the appearance; but boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witneſſes; deſired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be conſidered; and refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories, by which he might enſnare himſelf. 1548.

It is apparent, that notwithſtanding what is pretended, there muſt have been ſome deficiency in the evidence againſt Seymour, when ſuch demands, founded on the plaineſt principles of law and equity, were abſolutely rejected. We ſhall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and ſcarce capable of any proof; many of them, if true, ſuſceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that, tho' on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a very dangerous ſubject, yet he had not advanced far in thoſe treaſonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his guilt ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pyrates were protected, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants.

But the adminiſtration had, at that time, an eaſy inſtrument of vengeance, to wit, the Parliament; and needed not to give themſelves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the perſons whom they proſecuted, or the evidence which could be produced againſt them. A Parliament. A ſeſſion of Parliament being held, it was propoſed to proceed againſt Seymour by bill of attainder; and much perſuaſion being employed to engage the young King to conſent to it, a conſiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was firſt laid before the upper houſe; and ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's 4th November.

CHAP. XXXIV.

conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received for undoubted evidence; and tho' the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: There were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder, passed in absence; and required, that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But upon receiving a message from the King, requiring them to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce[f]. The bill passed in a very full house. Near four hundred voted for it; and not above nine or ten against it[g]. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame, on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seemed chiefly to be levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and tho' his ambitious, enterprizing character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have proved dangerous to public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing dangers at such a distance, was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said, that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been accustomed. For here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

1549. Attainder of Lord Seymour.

20 March.

His execution.

All the other considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded

Ecclesiastical affairs.

[f] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

eccles-

ecclesiastical matters, which were now the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council, to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with great moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves, that they had framed a service, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had been always celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenchment of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The Parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordered an uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies [h].

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

THERE was another very material act, which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice be usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought, that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiri-

[h] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

1549. Attainder of Lord Seymour.

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ecclesiastical matters; which were now the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council, to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with great moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves, that they had framed a service, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had been always celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenchment of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The Parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordered an uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies [h].

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

THERE was another very material act, which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice be usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought, that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiri-

[h] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

tual

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

tual head, and leſs dependant on the civil magiſtrate, when freed from the powerful tyes of wives and children; yet was this inſtitution much forwarded by the principles of ſuperſtition inherent in human nature. Theſe principles had rendered the panegyrics of an inviolate chaſtity ſo frequent among the antient fathers, long before the eſtabliſhment of celibacy. And even the Engliſh parliament, though they framed a law, permitting the marriages of prieſts, yet confeſs, in the preamble, "that it were "better for prieſts and the miniſters of the church to "live chaſte and without marriage, and it were much "to be wiſhed they would of themſelves abſtain." The inconveniences, which had ariſen from compelling chaſtity and prohibiting marriage, are the reaſon aſſigned for indulging a liberty in this particular[i]. The ideas of pennance alſo were ſo much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paſſed, prohibiting the uſe of fleſh-meat, during Lent and the other times of abſtinence[k].

THE

[i] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21.

[k] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19.

Another act, paſſed this ſeſſion, takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed: Inſomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magiſtrates were impowered to unite as many pariſhes as they thought proper. An eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230, thinks, that this decay of York is chiefly to be aſcribed to the diſſolution of monaſteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of perſons who lived at a diſtance.

A very grievous tax was impoſed this ſeſſion upon the whole ſtock and monied intereſt of the kingdom, and even upon its induſtry. It was a ſhilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every perſon worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. Theſe laſt, if above twelve years of age, and if worth leſs than twenty ſhillings, were to pay eight pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two pence yearly; every ewe three pence. The woolen manufactures were to pay eight pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made.

Theſe

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as we enjoy it at present, was almost entirely compleated in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, tho' tacitly condemned by the new communion-service and by the prohibition of many antient rites, still retained some hold of the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery, which was wholly abandoned by the people[1]. The extreme attachment of the late King to that tenet might be some ground for this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration, which of course is impressed on the mind. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion, which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome,

These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof, that few people lived on the money lent out at interest: For this tax amounts to the half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the law seems to be the tax upon the woolen manufacture. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent Parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woolen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in Parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, as if the clergy had no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. cap. 104.

had

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

had thought proper, under another name, ſtill to retain it: And the catholic preachers, in England, when reſtrained in every other particular, could not forbear, on every occaſion, from inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his ſee, and had been committed to cuſtody. Gardiner alſo, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority, which eſtabliſhed the late innovations; and he ſeemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the Engliſh catholics, that the King was indeed ſupreme head of the church, but not the council, during a minority. Having declined giving full ſatisfaction on this head, he was ſent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's diſpleaſure.

THESE ſeverities, being exerciſed againſt men, poſſeſſed of office and authority, ſeemed a neceſſary policy, in order to enforce an uniformity in public worſhip and diſcipline: But there were other inſtances of perſecution, which were derived from no other origin than the bigotry of theologians; a malady, which ſeems almoſt incurable. Though the proteſtant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during ſo many centuries, they regarded, in their turn, the new ſyſtem as ſo certain, that they could bear no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the ſame flames, from which they themſelves had ſo narrowly eſcaped, every one who had the aſſurance to oppoſe them. A commiſſion by act of council was granted to the primate and ſome others, to examine and ſearch after all anabaptiſts, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer[m]. They were enjoined to reclaim them, if poſſible; to impoſe penance on them; and to give them abſolution: Or

[m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

if

if they were obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them, and to deliver them over to the ſecular arm: And in the execution of this charge, the commiſſioners were not bound to obſerve the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were diſpenſed with, and if any ſtatutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commiſſion, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradeſmen in London were brought before theſe commiſſioners, and were accuſed of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not ſin, and that though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure and were diſmiſſed. But there was a woman accuſed of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was ſo extremely obſtinate, that the commiſſioners could gain nothing upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Chriſt was not truly incarnate of the vir-"gin, whoſe fleſh, being the outward man, was ſinfully "begotten and born in ſin; and conſequently, he could "take none of it: But the word, by the conſent of the "inward man of the virgin, was made fleſh[a]." This opinion, it would ſeem, is not orthodox; and there was a neceſſity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young King, though in ſuch tender years, had more ſenſe than all his counſellors and preceptors; and he long refuſed to ſign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perſuade him to compliance; and he ſaid, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and thoſe which were directly contradictory to the Apoſtles creed: Theſe latter were impieties againſt God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repreſs; in like manner, as the King's deputies were bound to puniſh

CHAP. XXXIV.

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

offences

CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

offences againſt the King's perſon. Edward, overcome by importunity more than reaſon, at laſt ſubmitted, tho' with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong was done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obſtinate againſt all his arguments, at laſt committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accuſed of the hereſy which has received the name of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction, that he hugged and careſſed the faggots, which were conſuming him; a ſpecies of frenzy of which there is more than one inſtance among the martyrs of this age [m].

THESE rigorous methods of proceeding ſoon brought the whole nation to a conformity with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and refuſed to admit the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip. When preſſed and menaced on this head, ſhe applied to the Emperor; who, uſing his intereſt with Sir Philip Hobby, the Engliſh ambaſſador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council [n].

[m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

[n] Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Discontents of the people.——Insurrections.——Conduct of the war with Scotland——with France.——Factions in the council.——Conspiracy against Somerset.——Somerset resigns the protectorship. A Parliament.——Peace with France and Scotland.——Boulogne surrendered.——Persecution of Gardiner.——Warwic created duke of Northumberland.——His ambition.——Trial of Somerset.——His execution.——A Parliament.——A new Parliament.——Succession changed.——The King's sickness——and death.

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

THERE is no abuse so great, in civil society, as not to be attended with a great variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change, is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable, in the main, to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were very much regretted by the people of England. The monks, residing always in their convents, in the heart of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the encrease of public riches, yet did it provide to many a remedy against the extreme pressures of want and

Discontents of the people.

CHAP. XXXV.

1549.

and neceſſity. It is alſo obſervable, that, as the friars were limited, by the rules of their inſtitution, to a certain train of life, they had not equal motives for avarice with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they ſtill are in Roman catholic countries, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were allowed to give leaſes at an undervalue, and to receive, in return, a large preſent from the tenant; in the ſame manner as is ſtill practiſed by the biſhops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were diſtributed among the great nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce; the money was ſpent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a diſtance, were expoſed to all the oppreſſions of their new maſters, or to the ſtill greater rapacity of the ſtewards.

THESE complaints of the common people were at that time heightened by other cauſes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England theſe arts had made greater progreſs than the knowledge of agriculture; a profeſſion, which of all mechanical employments, requires the moſt reflection and experience. A great demand aroſe for wool both abroad and at home: Paſturage was found more profitable than unſkilful tillage: Whole eſtates were laid waſte by incloſures: The tenants, regarded as a uſeleſs burthen, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery: And a great decay of people, as well as diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom[a]. This grievance was now of an old date;

[a] Strype, vol. ii. Repoſitory Q.

and

and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces. 1549.

THE general encreaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand, in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor people complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to provide a maintenance; and though this encreaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect very beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to that exertion of their faculties.

IT muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry the eighth, had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity, by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued: The good coin was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; an univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took

CHAP. XXXV.

place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

1549.

THE protector, who loved popularity, and compaſſionated the condition of the people, encouraged theſe complaints by his endeavours to remedy them. He appointed a commiſſion for making enquiry concerning incloſures; and iſſued a proclamation, ordering all late incloſures to be laid open by a day aſſigned. The populace, meeting with ſuch countenance from the government, began to riſe in ſeveral places, and to commit diſorders; but were quieted by remonſtrances and perſuaſion. In order to give them greater ſatisfaction, Somerſet appointed new commiſſioners, whom he ſent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all cauſes about incloſures, high-ways, and cottages[b]. As the object of this commiſſion was very diſagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called the commiſſion arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redreſs, could no longer contain their fury, but ſought for a remedy by force of arms. The riſing began at once in ſeveral parts of England, as if an univerſal conſpiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert: Thoſe in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler methods; but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Norfolk threatened the moſt fatal conſequences.

Inſurrections.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

THE

CHAP. XXXV.

1549.

THE commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual pretence of inclosures and of oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay, had the address to give their discontents a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of this subject, in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear dangerous. In other counties, the gentry had kept closely united with the government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought to the form of a regular army, and amounted to the number of 10,000 men. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to treat and negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed [c]. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; exhorted the rebels to disperse; and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of the antient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy [d]. The inhabitants of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in all their attempts.

[c] Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. [d] Heylin, p. 76.

CHAP. XXXV.

1549. Ruſſel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert, and lord Gray, with ſome German horſe, and ſome Italian arquebuſiers under Battiſta Spinola. He then reſolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their poſts, committed great ſlaughter upon them both in the action and purſuit [e], and took many priſoners. Arundel and the other leaders were ſent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law [f]: The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own tower, arrayed in his popiſh weeds, with his beads at his girdle [g].

THE inſurrection in Norfolk roſe ſtill to a greater height, and was attended with greater violences. The populace were at firſt excited, as in other places, by the complaints againſt incloſures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thouſand men, they grew inſolent on their force, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretenſions. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing new counſellors about the King, and the reeſtabliſhment of the antient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had aſſumed the government of them; and he exerciſed his authority with the utmoſt inſolence and outrage. Having taken poſſeſſion of Mouſhold-Hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and ſummoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave ſuch decrees as might be expected from his character and ſituation. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ordered againſt him; but met with a repulſe, in an action, where lord Sheffield was

[e] Stow's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295. [f] Hayward, p. 295, 296. [g] Heylin, p. 76. Hollingſhed, p. 1026.

killed.

killed [h]. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels: He therefore ſent next the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars againſt Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of augmenting his reputation and character. Warwic, having tried ſome ſkirmiſhes with the rebels, at laſt made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thouſand of them fell in the fight and purſuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich caſtle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the inſurrection was entirely ſuppreſſed. Some rebels in Yorkſhire, hearing of the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector [i]. CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

BUT though the inſurrections were thus quickly ſubdued in England, and no traces of them ſeemed to remain, they were attended with very bad conſequences with regard to the foreign intereſts of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which might have made a great impreſſion on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and De Thermes had leiſure to reduce that country to ſome ſettlement and compoſure. He took the fortreſs of Broughty, and put the garriſon to the ſword. He ſtraitened the Engliſh at Haddington; and though lord Dacres found means to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garriſon, it was experienced to be very chargeable, and even impracticable to keep poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waſte by the inroads both of the Scots and Engliſh, and could afford no ſupply to the garriſon: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; ſo

[h] Stowe, p. 597. Hollingſhed, p. 1030----34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174. [i] Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

CHAP. XXXV.

1549.

that a regular army was neceſſary to eſcort thither any proviſions: And as the plague had broke out among the troops, they periſhed daily, and were reduced to a ſtate of great weakneſs. For theſe reaſons, orders were given to diſmantle Haddington, and to convoy the artillery and garriſon to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the eaſt marches, executed the orders.

With France.

THE King of France alſo took advantage of the diſtractions of the Engliſh, in order to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry the eighth had conquered from France. On other pretences, he aſſembled an army; and falling ſuddenly upon the Boullonois, took the caſtles of Sellacque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well ſupplied with garriſons, ammunition, and proviſions [k]. He attempted to ſurprize Boulenberg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peſtilential diſtemper, which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he retired to Paris [l]. He left the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſo famous afterwards under the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the ſiege early in the ſpring. The active diſpoſition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, ſeveral attempts againſt the place; but they proved all unſucceſsful.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a deſcent on Jerſey; but meeting there with an Engliſh fleet, an action enſued,

[k] Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6. [l] Hayward, p. 300.

which

which ſeems not to have been deciſive, ſince the hiſtorians of the two nations differ ſo widely in their accounts of the event [m].

As ſoon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himſelf with the alliance of the emperor; and he ſent over ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then reſided, in order to aſſiſt Sir Philip Hobby, the ordinary ambaſſador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely deſirous of fortifying himſelf by the Engliſh alliance againſt France, his capital enemy, he thought it unſuitable to his other pretenſions to enter into ſtrict confederacy with a nation, which had broke off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined all advances of friendſhip from England; and eluded the applications of the ambaſſadors. An exact account is preſerved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a converſation with the Engliſh miniſters, aſſerted, that the prerogatives of a King of England were more extenſive than thoſe of a King of France [n]. Burnet, who preſerves this letter, ſubjoins, as a parallel inſtance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their Queen with Edward, was that all their privileges would be ſwallowed up by the great prerogative of the Kings of England [o].

SOMERSET, finding no aſſiſtance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and beſides that he was not in a condition to maintain ſuch ruinous wars, he thought, that there no

[m] Thuan. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597. [n] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132, 175. [o] Idem, p. 133.

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

longer remained any object of hoſtilities. The Scots had ſent away their Queen; and could not, if ever ſo much inclined, compleat the marriage contracted with Edward: And as Henry the eighth had ſtipulated to reſtore Boulogne in 1554, it ſeemed a matter of ſmall conſequence to anticipate a few years, the term of the treaty. But when he propoſed theſe reaſons to the council, he met with ſtrong oppoſition from his enemies, who, ſeeing him unable to ſupport the war, were determined, for that very reaſon, to oppoſe all propoſals for a pacification. The factions ran very high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an iſſue, fatal to the authority of the protector.

Factions in the council.

AFTER Somerſet obtained the patent, inveſting him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other counſellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought, that every one ought, in every thing, to yield to his ſentiments. All thoſe who were not entirely devoted to him, were ſure to be neglected; whoever oppoſed his will received marks of anger or contempt [p]; and while he ſhewed a reſolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not, in any reſpect, proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more ſubtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having aſſociated himſelf with Southampton, who had been readmitted into the council, he formed a ſtrong party, who were determined to free themſelves from the ſlavery, impoſed on them by the protector.

THE malecontent counſellors found the diſpoſition of the nation very favourable to their deſigns. The nobi-

[p] Strype, vol. ii. p. 181.

lity

lity and gentry were in general displeased with the preference, which Somerset seemed to have given the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed, to his procrastination, and to the encouragement given the multitude, so they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people [q], and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be denominated illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time, could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more unpolitic, because it disgusted the nobility, the surest support of monarchical authority.

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them, was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the multitude, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, was represented in very invidious colours: The great estate which he had suddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious: And the palace which he was building in the Strand, served by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for this structure: Not contented with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's,

[q] Strype, vol. ii. p. 183.

West-

CHAP. XXXV.

1549.

Weſtminſter, and to employ the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe in a tumult, and chaced away the protector's tradeſmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloiſter, and charnel-houſe belonging to it; and theſe edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jeruſalem, were made uſe of to raiſe his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people, was that the tombs, and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones carried away, and buried in unconſecrated ground[r].

6th October.

Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet.

ALL theſe imprudences were remarked by Somerſet's enemies, who reſolved to take advantage of them. The lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counſellors more, met at Ely-houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance: They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they ſhould receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expreſſed his reſolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juſtice Montague, joined the malecontent counſellors; and every thing bore a bad aſpect for the protector's authority. Secretary

[r] Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

Petre,

Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, chooſe rather to remain with them; and the common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them[s]. CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

THE protector had no ſooner heard of the defection of the counſellors, than he removed the King from Hampton-court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and, arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolute to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies. But finding, that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not riſe at his ſummons, that the City and Tower had declared againſt him, that even his beſt friends and confidents had deſerted him, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveneſs. No ſooner was this deſpondency known, than lord Ruſſel, Sir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three counſellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined Warwic's party, whom every body now regarded as maſters. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, to the ſame purpoſe; they made addreſſes to the King, in which, after the humbleſt proteſtations of duty and obedience, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had choſen the duke of Somerſet protector, with the expreſs condition that he ſhould guide himſelf by their advice and direction; that he had uſurped the whole authority to himſelf, and had neglected, and even in every thing oppoſed, their advice; that he had proceeded to that height of preſumption, as

[s] Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollinſhed, p. 1057.

to

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

to levy forces againſt them, and place theſe forces about his majeſty's perſon: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal preſence, that he would be pleaſed to reſtore them to his confidence, and that Somerſet's ſervants might be diſmiſſed. Their requeſt was complied with: Somerſet capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promiſed him. He was, however, ſent to the Tower [t], with ſome of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, who was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Articles of charge were exhibited againſt him [u]; of which the chief, at leaſt the beſt founded, is his uſurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole adminiſtration of affairs. The clauſe of his patent, which inveſted him with abſolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly, becauſe, according to the ſentiments of thoſe times, that power was, in ſome degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

Somerſet reſigns the protectorſhip.

THE catholics were extremely elevated with this revolution; and as they had aſcribed all the late innovations to Somerſet's councils, they hoped, that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the antient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief ſway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all theſe points of controverſy; and finding, that the principles of the reformation had ſunk deeper into the young prince's mind than to be eaſily eradicated, he was determined to comply with his inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous councils. He took care very early to expreſs his intentions of ſupporting the reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on

[t] Stowe, p. 600. [u] Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingſhed, p. 1059.

Southamp-

Southampton, who ſtood at the head of the Romaniſts, and whom he conſidered as a dangerous rival, that the high-ſpirited nobleman retired from the council, and ſoon after died of vexation and diſappointment. The other counſellors, who had concurred in bringing about the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruſſel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, beſides the office of chamberlain of the houſhold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torne from the ſee of London [y]. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of Parliament, was the only legal one; but compoſed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerſet, and who derived their ſeats from an authority which was now declared uſurped and illegal. But ſuch niceties were, during that age, little underſtood, and ſtill leſs regarded, in England.

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

A SESSION of Parliament was held; and as it was the uſual maxim of that aſſembly to acquieſce in every adminiſtration which was eſtabliſhed, the council dreaded no oppoſition from that quarter, and had reaſon rather to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerſet had been prevailed with to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge againſt him; and he imputed theſe miſdemeanors to his own raſhneſs, folly, and indiſcretion, not to any malignity of his intentions [z]. He even ſubſcribed this confeſſion; and the paper was given in to the Parliament, who, after ſending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowlege it to

4th November. A Parliament.

23d December.

y Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

z Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.

be

CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

be authentic, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him in two thousand pounds a year of land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwic earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the King: He recovered his liberty: And Warwic, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerset [k].

DURING this session a severe act was passed against riots [l]; that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by any lawful magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: Any attempt to kill a privy counsellor, was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining, that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offenders before them, punish no vice, nor exert the discipline of the church: From which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and encrease. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops, would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the ancient superstition. The Parliament,

[k] Hayward, p. 309. [l] 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

for

for the preſent, contented themſelves with empowering the King to appoint thirty-two commiſſioners to frame a body of canon laws, which were to be valid though never ratified by Parliament. Such implicit truſt did they repoſe in the crown, though all their liberties and properties might be affected by theſe canons [l]. The King died before the canons received the royal ſanction. Sir John Sharington, whoſe crimes and malverſations had appeared ſo egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from Parliament a reverſal of his attainder [m]. This man ſought favour with the moſt zealous of the reformers; and biſhop Latimer aſſerted, that though formerly he was a moſt notorious knave, he was now ſo penitent, that he had become a very honeſt man. CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

WHEN Warwic and the council of regency began to exerciſe their power, they found themſelves involved in the ſame difficulties which had embarraſſed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be ſupported by an exhauſted exchequer, ſeemed dangerous to a divided nation, and were now acknowleged not to have any object, which even the greateſt and moſt uninterrupted ſucceſs could attain. The project of peace which Somerſet entertained, had ſerved them as a pretence of clamour againſt his adminiſtration; yet after ſending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitleſs effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themſelves obliged to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, by means of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French King abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown 1550. Peace with France and Scotland.

[l] 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. [m] Ibid. c. 13.

CHAP. XXXV.

of England, as arrears of penſions; and ſaid, that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: But he offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne, and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth[m]. No ſooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a cloſe union with that kingdom; and Henry very willingly embraced a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſts and inclinations. An agreement, ſometime after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled[n]: But this project never took effect.

1550. Boulogne ſurrendered 24 March.

THE intentions of marrying the King to a daughter of Henry, who was a violent perſecutor of the proteſtants, was no wiſe acceptable to that party in England: But in all other reſpects, the council was very ſteady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws againſt the Romaniſts. Many of the prelates were ſtill addicted to that communion; and though they made ſome compliances, in order to ſave their biſhoprics, they retarded, as much as they ſafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to ſuch as were negligent or refractory. A reſolution was therefore taken to ſeek pretences for depriving them; and the execution of this intention was the more eaſy, as they had all of them been obliged

[m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211.

[n] Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

CHAP. XXXV. 1550.

to take commiſſions, in which it was declared, that they held their ſees only during the King's pleaſure. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. The method of proceeding againſt him was extremely violent, and had ſcarce any colour of law or juſtice. It had been preſcribed him, to inculcate in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a King even during his minority; and becauſe he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into priſon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accuſed of any crime, except diſobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerſet, ſecretary Petre, and ſome others of the council, were now ſent, in order to try his temper, and endeavour to find ſome ground for depriving him: He profeſſed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the King's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the diſpoſition which they expected or deſired [o]: A new deputation was therefore ſent, who carried him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe. He was to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and confeſs the juſtice of his confinement: He was likewiſe to own, that the King was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays, was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer book was a godly and commendable form; that the King was a compleat ſovereign in his minority; that the act of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the King had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, government, or doctrine. The biſhop was willing to put his hand to all the articles except the firſt: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffenſive; and declared, that he

[o] Heylin, p. 99.

CHAP. XXXV.

would not own himſelf guilty of faults which he had never committed [p].

1550. The council, finding that he had gone ſuch lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and ſending him new articles to ſubſcribe. A liſt was ſelected of ſuch points as they thought would be the moſt hard of digeſtion; and not content with theſe, they inſiſted ſtill on his ſubmiſſion, and an acknowlegement of paſt errors. To make this ſubſcription more mortifying, they required a promiſe, that he would recommend and publiſh all theſe articles from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who ſaw, that they intended either to ruin or diſhonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliances: He ſtill inſiſted on his innocence; deſired a fair trial; and refuſed to ſubſcribe more articles, till he ſhould recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his biſhopric was put under ſequeſtration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than at firſt, a commiſſion was appointed to try, or, more properly

1551. ſpeaking, to condemn him. The commiſſions were, the primate, the biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, ſecretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and ſome other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commiſſion, which was not founded on any ſtatute or precedent; and he appealed from the commiſſioners to the King. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced againſt him: He was deprived of his biſhopric: And committed to cloſe cuſtody: His books and papers were ſeized: all company was denied him; and it was not allowed him either to ſend or receive any letters or meſſages [q].

[p] Collier, vol. ii. p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99.

[q] Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & ſeq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.

CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the King's pleaſure: But the council, unwilling to make uſe of a conceſſion which had been ſo illegally and arbitrarily exacted, choſe rather to employ ſome forms of juſtice; a reſolution, which led them to commit ſtill greater iniquities and ſeverities. But the violence of the reformers did not ſtop there. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, Heathe of Worceſter, and Voiſey of Exeter, were deprived of their biſhoprics, on pretence of diſobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Saliſbury, and Samſon of Coventry, tho' they had complied in every thing, yet not being ſuppoſed cordial or hearty in their obedience, were obliged to ſeek protection, by ſacrificing the moſt conſiderable revenues of their ſee, to the rapacious courtiers[r].

THESE plunderers neglected not even ſmaller profits. An order was iſſued by council, for purging the library of Weſtminſter of all miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher[s]. Many of theſe books were plaited with gold and ſilver, and curiouſly emboſſed; and this finery was probably the ſuperſtition that deſtroyed them. Great havoc was likewiſe made on the libraries of Oxford. Books and manuſcripts were deſtroyed without diſtinction: The volumes of divinity ſuffered for their rich binding: Thoſe of literature were condemned as uſeleſs: Thoſe of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to contain nothing but necromancy[t]. The univerſity had not power to oppoſe theſe barbarous violences: They were in danger of loſing their own revenues; and expect-

[r] Goodwin de præſul. Angl. Heylin, p. 100.

[s] Collier, vol. ii. p. 307, from the council books.

[t] Wood, hiſt. & antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

CHAP. XXXV.

ed every moment to be ſwallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his aſſociates.

1551. THO' every thing beſides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and ſhe ſtill continued to adhere to the maſs, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during ſome time, connived at; but, at laſt, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkeley, were thrown into priſon[u]; and the princeſs was remonſtrated with for her diſobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her ſentiments, and to perſuade her, that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They aſked her, what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the uſe of images, or offering up the ſacrament for the dead; and they deſired her to peruſe St. Auſtin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and prove that it was founded merely on falſe miracles and lying ſtories[x]. The lady Mary remained obſtinate againſt all this advice, and proteſted herſelf willing to endure death rather than relinquiſh her religion: She only feared, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer in ſo holy a cauſe; And as for proteſtant books, ſhe thanked God, that, as ſhe never had, ſo ſhe hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, ſhe endeavoured to make her eſcape to her kinſman Charles; but her deſign was diſcovered and prevented[y]. The emperor remonſtrated in her behalf, and even threatned hoſtilities, if liberty of conſcience was refuſed her: But though the council, ſenſible that the kingdom was in no condition to ſupport, with honour, ſuch a war, was deſirous to comply; they found great difficulty to

[u] Strype, vol. ii. p. 249. [x] Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet.
[y] Heyward, p. 315.

overcome

overcome the ſcruples of the young King. He had been educated in ſuch a violent abhorrence of the maſs, and other popiſh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he ſhould participate, he thought, in the ſin, if he allowed its commiſſion: And when at laſt the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed ſomewhat over his oppoſition, he burſt into tears, lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and bewailing his own fate, that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſuch an abominable mode of worſhip. CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the proteſtant ſects, was popery, or, more properly ſpeaking, the papiſts. Theſe they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and deſtroy its partizans by fire and ſword: They had not as yet had leiſure to attend to the other minute diviſions among themſelves, which afterwards became the objects of ſuch furious quarrels and animoſities, and threw the whole kingdom into confuſion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in thoſe days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take ſhelter in England, from the perſecutions which the emperor exerciſed in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-laſco, a Poliſh nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, ſettled, during ſome time, at Embden in Eaſt-Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreſeeing the perſecutions which enſued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as induſtrious, uſeful people, and deſired to invite over others of the ſame character, not only gave them Auguſtine friars church for the exerciſe of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they

CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independant of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies [z].

THESE differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics, who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falshood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants, afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of common prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted [a]. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of the religion, were also fixed in forty-two articles. These articles were intended to obviate further divisions and variations; and the framing them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in the articles; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain, that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition [b].

THE theological zeal of the council, tho' seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have been ever uppermost in their thoughts: They even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the

[z] Mem. Cran. p. 234.
[a] Mem. Cran. p. 289.
[b] Article xviii.

nation,

nation, which was, at that time, very little the object of general ſtudy or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage theſe merchants to ſettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry the third, had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from ſeveral heavy duties paid by aliens. So ignorant were the Engliſh of commerce, that this company, commonly denominated the merchants of the Steel-yard, engroſſed almoſt the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navigation of England was alſo in a very languiſhing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to find pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Engliſhmen in the duties which they paid; and as ſuch patents were, during that age, granted by the abſolute power of the King, men were the leſs ſurprized to find them recalled by the ſame authority. Several remonſtrances were made againſt this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanſe-towns; but the council perſevered in their reſolution, and the good effects of it became ſoon viſible to the nation. The Engliſh merchants, by their very ſituation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchaſe of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though theſe advantages had not been ſufficient to rouze their induſtry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens duty was alſo impoſed upon all foreigners indiſcriminately, the Engliſh were tempted to enter into commerce, and a ſpirit of induſtry began to appear in the kingdom [c].

CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

[c] Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

CHAP. XXXV.

1551. About the ſame time a treaty was made with Guſtavus Ericſon, King of Sweden, by which it was ſtipulated, that if he ſent bullion into England, he might carry away Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom, that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince, that if he ſent ozimus, ſteel, copper, &c. he ſhould pay cuſtom for Engliſh commodities as an Engliſhman, and that if he ſent other merchandize, he ſhould have free intercourſe, paying cuſtom as a ſtranger[d]. The bullion ſent over by Sweden ſet the mint to work: Good ſpecie was coined: And much of the baſe metal, formerly iſſued, was recalled: A circumſtance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

Warwic created duke of Northumberland.

But all theſe ſchemes for the improvement of induſtry were like to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the exorbitant ambition of Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the ſtation which he had attained, carried farther his pretenſions, and had gained to himſelf partizans who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every enterprize. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwic now procured to himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet, lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created firſt earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter: Sir William Herbert was made earl of Pembroke.

His ambition.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, either to himſelf

[d] Heylin, p. 109.

or

CHAP. XXXV.

1551.

or partizans, as ſteps only to further acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though degraded from his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his ſpiritleſs conduct, ſtill enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of popularity, he determined to ruin a man whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been formed between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compaſs with more certainty the deſtruction of his rival. He ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of that unhappy nobleman: He ſometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger: Sometimes provoked him by ill uſage. The unguarded Somerſet often broke out into menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland: At other times, he formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the ſchemes, which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted[e]: And Northumberland, thinking that the proper ſeaſon was now come, began to act in an open manner againſt him.

In one night, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer were arreſted and committed to cuſtody. Next day, the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a ſpy upon Somerſet, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muſter-day, to ſecure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London: But what was the only 16 October

[e] Heylin, p. 112.

probable

CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

probable accuſation, he aſſerted, that Somerſet had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, nor means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed, that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerſet.

SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, who acted as high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers ſat as the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man, who appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in forming a deſign to murder privy-counſellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all ſtate trials during that age, which is a ſenſible defect in our hiſtory: But it appears, that ſome more regularity was obſerved in the management of this proſecution than had been uſually employed in like caſes. The witneſſes were at leaſt examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner (circumſtances required by the ſtrict principles of equity) their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof ſeems to have been very lame with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge; and Somerſet's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy counſellors was ſupported by any tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The priſoner him-

1ſt December.

himſelf confeſſed, that he had mentioned the deſign of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any reſolution on that head: And when he received ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for the deſigns which he had hearkened to againſt them. The people, by whom Somerſet was beloved, hearing the firſt part of his ſentence, by which he was abſolved from treaſon, expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations: But their ſatisfaction was ſuddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony[f]. CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

CARE had been taken by Northumberland's emiſſaries, to prepoſſeſs the young King againſt his uncle; and leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued ſeries of occupations and amuſements. At laſt the priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt great crouds of ſpectators, who bore him ſuch ſincere kindneſs, that they entertained, to the laſt moment, the fond hopes of his pardon[g]. Many of them ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique; and ſome of them ſoon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and diſplayed to him theſe ſymbols of his crime. Somerſet indeed, tho' many actions of his life were very exceptionable, ſeems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults, which he committed, were owing to weakneſs, not to any bad intentions. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmneſs, he was ill-fitted to extricate himſelf from thoſe cabals and violences to which that age was ſo much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael 1552. His execution. 22d Jan.

[f] Heyward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingſhed, p. 1067. [g] Hayward, p. 324, 325.

Stanhope,

CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerſet's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: Great injuſtice ſeems to have been uſed in their proſecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on ſome pretence, tried in the Star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loſs of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour [g]. Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome friendſhip, which he had ſhewn to Somerſet.

22d Jan. A Parliament.

THE day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of Parliament was held, where farther advances were made for the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authoriſed; and penalties were enacted againſt all ſuch as abſented themſelves from public worſhip [h]. To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under very ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope thay had given to their own private judgment, in diſputing the tenets of the antient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was, at that time, equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion of the magiſtrate was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

A LAW was enacted againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money [i]. This act was the effect of antient ſuperſtitions; but being found extremely iniquitous in itſelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth.

[g] Stowe, p. 608. [h] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. [i] Ib. c. 20.

The

The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at that time 14 per cent [k].

1552.

A BILL was introduced by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, renewing thoſe rigorous ſtatutes of treaſons, which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high ſtation, ſtood moſt expoſed to theſe tempeſts of ſtate, yet had they ſo little regard to public ſecurity, or even to their own true intereſts, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice [l]. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paſſed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever ſhould call the King or any of his heirs, named in the ſtatute of the 35th of the laſt reign, heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond, ſhould incur a *præmunire*; for the third, ſhould be attainted of treaſon. But if any ſhould unadviſedly advance ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving or graving, he was, for the firſt offence, to be held a traitor [m]. It may be worthy of notice, that the King and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different religions; and religions, which threw on each other the imputation of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, prophaneneſs, blaſphemy, wickedneſs, and all the opprobrious epithets, that religious zeal has invented. It was almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for the people, if they ſpoke on theſe ſubjects at all, not to fall into the crime, ſo ſeverely puniſhed by this ſtatute; and the jealouſy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to diſſent from the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-ſighted.

[k] Hayward, p. 318.

[l] Parliamentary hiſt. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190.

[m] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

THE

CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

THE commons annexed to this bill a clauſe which was of much more importance than the bill itſelf, that no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon, unleſs the crime was proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, who were confronted with the priſoner. The lords ſcrupled to paſs this clauſe; though required by the moſt obvious principles of equity, and though their own intereſt was fully as much concerned as that of the commons. But the members of that houſe truſted for protection to their preſent perſonal intereſt and power, and neglected the nobleſt and moſt permanent ſecurity, that of the laws.

A BILL was introduced into the houſe of peers for making a proviſion for the poor; but the commons, not chuſing that a money-bill ſhould begin in the upper-houſe, framed a new bill to the ſame purpoſe. By this bill, the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions for the poor, and if any refuſed to contribute, or diſſwaded others from that charity, the biſhop of the dioceſe was impowered to proceed againſt them. Such large diſcretionary powers, entruſted to the prelates, ſeem as proper an object of jealouſy as the authority aſſumed by the peers[n].

THERE was another occaſion in which the Parliament repoſed an unuſual confidence in the biſhops. They empowered them to proceed againſt ſuch as neglected the Sundays and holydays[o]. But theſe were unguarded conceſſions granted to the church: The general humour of the times led men to bereave the eccleſiaſtics of all their power, and even to pillage them of all their property: Many clergymen were obliged for a ſubſiſtence to turn carpenters or taylors, and ſome kept alehouſes[p]. The biſhops themſelves were generally reduced to po-

[n] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. [o] Ibid. cap. 3.
[p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

verty,

verty, and held both their revenues and ſpiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure. CHAP. XXXV.

TONSTAL, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, ſtill leſs for the dignity of his ſee, than for his own perſonal merit, his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had oppoſed, by his vote and authority, all the innovations in religion; but ſo ſoon as they were enacted, he had always ſubmitted, and had paid conformity to each ſyſtem of religion, which was eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed, not to an intereſted or time-ſerving ſpirit, but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think that all private opinions ought to be ſacrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity. That general regard which was paid his character, had preſerved him from any ſevere treatment during the protectorſhip of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and as that rapacious nobleman had laid a deſign of appropriating the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of forming to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effectuate his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the houſe of peers againſt that prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers: And when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill. 1552.

THIS

CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

THIS equity, ſo unuſual in the Parliament during that age, was aſcribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and juſtice, but to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction in a houſe of commons, which, being choſen during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, had been almoſt entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his accomplices was alſo rejected by the commons, 15th April. though it had paſſed the upper houſe. A reſolution was therefore taken to diſſolve the Parliament, which had ſat during this whole reign; and ſoon after to ſummon a new one.

A new Parliament.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to enſure to himſelf a houſe of commons entirely obſequious to his will, ventured on an expedient which could not have been practiſed, or even thought of, in an age, when there was any idea or comprehenſion of liberty. He engaged the King to write circular letters to all the ſheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders and voters, that they were required to chooſe men of knowledge and experience for their repreſentatives. After this general exhortation, the King continued in theſe words. "And "yet, nevertheleſs, our pleaſure is, that where our privy "council, or any of them ſhall, in our behalf, recommend, within their juriſdiction, men of learning and "wiſdom; in ſuch caſes, their directions ſhall be regarded "and followed, as tending to the ſame end which we "deſire, that is, to have this aſſembly compoſed of the "perſons in our realm the beſt fitted to give advice and "good council[9]." Several letters were ſent from the King, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton for Hampſhire; Sir William Fitz-

[9] Strype's eccleſiaſtical memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.

williams and Sir Henry Neville for Berkſhire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield for Suffolk, &c. But tho' ſome counties only received this ſpecies of *congé d'elire* form the King; the recommendations from the privy council and the counſellors, we may fairly preſume, would extend to the greateſt part, if not to the whole, of the kingdom. CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

IT is remarkable, that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor King, when the royal authority is uſually weakeſt; that it was patiently ſubmitted to; and that it gave ſo little umbrage as ſcarce to be taken notice of by any hiſtorian. The painful and laborious collector above-cited, who never omits the moſt trivial matters, is the only perſon, that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity.

THE Parliament anſwered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonſtal had in the interval been deprived of his biſhopric after a very arbitrary manner, by the ſentence of lay commiſſioners, appointed to try him, the ſee of Durham was by act of Parliament divided into two biſhopries, which had certain portions of the revenue aſſigned them. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count palatine, were given by the King to Northumberland; and it was not to be doubted but that nobleman had alſo propoſed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then the uſual practice of the courtiers, whenever a biſhopric became vacant. 1553. 1ſt March.

THE commons gave the miniſtry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the moſt ſincere, the moſt cordial, and the moſt difficult to be obtained: They granted a ſupply of two ſubſidies and two fifteenths. To render this preſent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accuſation of Somerſet,

CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

"For involving the King in wars, waſting his treaſure, "engaging him in much debt, embaſing the coin, and "giving occaſion for a moſt terrible rebellion[r]."

THE debts of the crown were at this time very conſiderable. The King had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profits from the ſale of ſome chantry lands; the churches had been deſpoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the King's uſes[s]: Yet ſuch had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds[t]; and great dilapidations were, at the ſame time, made of the royal demeſnes. The young prince ſhowed, among other virtues, a diſpoſition to frugality, which, had he lived, would ſoon have retrieved theſe loſſes: But as his health was declining very faſt, the preſent emptineſs of the exchequer was a ſenſible obſtacle to the execution of thoſe projects, which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the proſpect of Edward's approaching end.

Succeſſion changed.

THAT nobleman repreſented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm ſtate of health made ſuſceptible of every impreſſion, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both been declared illegitimate by act of Parliament, and though Henry by his will had reſtored them to a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never bear to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard: That they were only the King's ſiſters by the half-blood; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: That the Queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the King's will; and being an alien, loſt by the law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as ſhe was

[r] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12. [s] Heylin, p. 95, 132.

[t] Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 344.

betrothed

betrothed to the dauphin, ſhe would, by her ſucceſſion, render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain conſequence of his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion, or that of the Queen of Scots, was the abolition of the proteſtant religion, the repeal of thoſe laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the uſurpations and idolatry of the church of Rome: That fortunately for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion, which juſtice required, was alſo the moſt conformable to public intereſt; and there was not on any ſide any juſt ground for doubt or deliberation: That when theſe three princeſſes were excluded by ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved to the marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter to the French Queen and the duke of Suffolk: That the next heir of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable virtue, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a throne: And that even, if her title by blood ſhould be doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the King was poſſeſſed of the ſame power, which his father enjoyed; and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and above all, his zealous affection for the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter, on account of illegitimacy, without alſo giving an excluſion to the other.

CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the King, began to prepare the

CHAP. XXXV.

1553. other parts of that political fabric, which he intended to raiſe. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk by a ſecond venter having died, this ſeaſon, of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the King to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour and of others, which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutcheſs, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Grey, ſecond daughter to Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon[u]. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing theſe public demonſtrations of joy, during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been ſeized in the foregoing year, firſt with the meaſles, then with the ſmall pox; but having perfectly recovered from both theſe diſtempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only ſerve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progreſs through ſome parts of the kingdom. It was ſuſpected, that he had there over-heated himſelf in exerciſes: He was ſeized with a cough, which proved obſtinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the ſeaſon of the year advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady,

The King's ſickneſs.

[u] Heylin, p. 109. Stowe, p. 609.

malady, men ſaw with great concern his bloom and vigour inſenſibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him, in the quality of gentleman of the bedchamber. CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

THE languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the King: He himſelf attended him with the greateſt aſſiduity: He pretended the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all theſe artifices, he prevailed on him to give his final conſent to the ſettlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, were ſent for to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the King required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They heſitated in obeying this order; and deſired time to conſider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The ſettlement of the crown by Henry the eighth had been made in conſequence of an act of Parliament; and by another act, paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of ſucceſſion. The judges pleaded theſe reaſons before the council. They urged, that ſuch a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would ſubject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned

CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

it, to the pains of treaſon; and that the only proper expedient, both to give force to the new ſettlement, and free its partizans from danger, was to ſummon a Parliament, and obtain the conſent and ſanction of that aſſembly. The King ſaid, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a Parliament, in which he propoſed, to have his ſettlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refuſal would ſubject them all to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and ſaid that he would fight in his ſhirt with any man in ſo juſt a cauſe as that of the lady Jane's ſucceſſion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers of the law, and thoſe ariſing from the violence of preſent power and authority[x].

THE arguments were canvaſſed in ſeveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no ſolution could be found of the preſent difficulties. At laſt, Montague propoſed an expedient, which ſatisfied both his brethren and the counſellors. He deſired, that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be paſſed by the King and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn and brought to the biſhop of Ely, chancellor, in order to paſs the great ſeal, that prelate required, that all the judges ſhould ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; and it was with much difficulty, that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, who,

[x] Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

though

though a zealous proteſtant, preferred juſtice on this occaſion to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy councellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland or the fears of his violence were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but yielded at laſt to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of the King[y]. Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards that he only ſigned as a witneſs to the King's ſubſcription. And thus, by the King's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the dutcheſs of Suffolk: For the dutcheſs herſelf was content to be poſtponed to her daughters.

CHAP. XXXV. 1553. 21ſt June.

AFTER this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward declined viſibly every day in his health; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make the matter worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms encreaſed to the moſt violent degree: He felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

And death, 6th July.

ALL the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellencies of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of the moſt tender affections of the public.

y Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education and from the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: But as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen.——Deſerted by the people.——The Queen proclaimed and acknowleged.——Northumberland executed.——Catholic religion reſtored.——A Parliament.——Deliberations with regard to the Queen's marriage.——Queen's marriage with Philip.——Wyat's inſurrection.——Suppreſſed.——Execution of Lady Jane Gray.——A Parliament.——Philip's arrival in England.

THE title of the princeſs Mary to the crown, after the deceaſe of her brother, was not liable to any conſiderable difficulty; and the objections ſtarted by the lady Jane's partizans, were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the proteſtants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and ſeemed founded on thoſe principles of law and religion, which then prevailed, very few imagined, that their iſſue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpoſe had indeed been extorted from the Parliament by the uſual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to reſtore

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. ſtore his daughter to the right of ſucceſſion, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever eſteemed juſt and natural. The public had been long familiarized to theſe ſentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princeſs was conſidered as his lawful ſucceſſor: And though the proteſtants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred univerſally entertained againſt the Dudleys[a], who, men foreſaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real ſovereigns, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This laſt attempt to violate the order of ſucceſſion, had diſplayed Northumberland's ambition and injuſtice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity and cruelty, by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princeſſes, had been ſacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themſelves in oppoſition to ſuch criminal enterprizes. The general veneration alſo, paid to the memory of Henry the eighth, prompted the nation to defend the rights of his poſterity; and the miſeries of the antient civil wars were not ſo entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodſhed and confuſion.

NORTHUMBERLAND, ſenſible of the oppoſition which he muſt expect, had carefully concealed the deſtination made by the King; and in order to bring the two princeſſes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, deſiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel and the conſolation of their com-

a Sleidan, lib. 25.

pany.

pany [b]. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princeſſes fall into the ſnare, kept the King's death ſtill ſecret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddeſden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her [c]: She immediately made haſte to retire; and arrived by quick journeys, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where ſhe propoſed to embark and retire to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county of England; commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council; by which ſhe notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her acceſſion in London [d].

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

Northumberland found that farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs: He went to Sion-houſe [e], accompanied with the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who reſided there, with all the reſpect uſually paid to the ſovereign. Jane was, in a great meaſure, ignorant of all theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurprize, that ſhe received intelligence of them [f]. She was a lady of the moſt amiable perſon, the moſt engaging diſpoſition, the moſt accompliſhed parts; and being of an equal age with the late King, ſhe had received all her education with him, and ſeemed even to poſſeſs a

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen.

[b] Heylin, p. 154. [c] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233. [d] Fox, vol. iii. p. 14. [e] Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. [f] Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

greater

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beſide modern tongues; had paſſed moſt of her time in an application to learning; and expreſſed a great indifference for other occupations and amuſements uſual with her ſex and ſtation. Roger Aſcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having at one time paid her a viſit, found her employed in reading of Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and upon his admiring the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe told him, that ſhe received more pleaſure from that author than the others could reap from all their ſport and gaiety. Her heart, full of this paſſion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderneſs towards her huſband, who was deſerving of her affection, had never opened itſelf to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the information of her advancement to the throne was by no means agreeable to her. She even refuſed to accept of the preſent; pleaded the preferable right of the two princeſſes; expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending an enterprize ſo dangerous, not to ſay ſo criminal; and deſired to remain in that private ſtation in which ſhe was born. Overcome at laſt with the entreaties, rather than reaſons, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her huſband, ſhe ſubmitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquiſh her own judgment. It was then uſual for the Kings of England, after their acceſſion, to paſs the firſt days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new ſovereign[s]. All the counſellors were obliged to attend her to that fortreſs; and by this means became, in ſome meaſure, priſoners in the hands of Northumberland, whoſe will they were neceſſitated to obey. Orders

[s] Heylin, p. 159.

were

were given by the council, to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London, and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: Some even expressed their scorn and contempt: And one Pot, a vintner's prentice, was severely punished for this offence [h]. The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless [i]; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience [k]. 1553.

THE people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, to express their apprehension for the protestant religion; but when she assured them, that she never meant to change the laws of King Edward [l], they enlisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry flocked to her daily, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Henry Jerningham, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers [m]. Sir Edward Hastings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Queen Mary. Even a fleet, which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the

[h] Heylin, p. 160. [i] Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 161. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 236, 238. [k] Stowe, p. 611. Hollingshed, p. 1087. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 3. [l] Fox, vol. iii. p. 15. Baker, p. 314. Speed, p. 816. [m] Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237.

coast

CHAP. XXXVI.

coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth, by a ſtorm, were engaged to declare for that princeſs.

1553. NORTHUMBERLAND, who had hitherto been blinded by ambition, ſaw at laſt the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himſelf. He had levied forces, which were aſſembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance, he knew, had been entirely the reſult of fear or artifice, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of the lady Jane, and ſend Suffolk to command the army. But the counſellors, who wiſhed to remove him[s], working on the filial tenderneſs of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be expoſed, and repreſented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by ſuppreſſing formerly a rebellion in thoſe parts, was much more proper to command in that enterprize. The Duke himſelf, who knew the ſlender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himſelf was able to encounter the preſent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counſellors attended on him at his departure with the higheſt proteſtations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy[t]. As he went along, he remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to lord Grey, who attended him, "come out to "look at us, but I find not one who cries, *God ſpeed* "*you*[u]."

THE duke had no ſooner reached St. Edmond's-bury, than he found his army, which never exceeded ſix thouſand men, too weak to encounter the Queen's[w], which

[s] Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15. [t] Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 313. Hollingſhed, p. 1086. [u] Speed, p. 816. [w] Godwin, p. 331.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553.

amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately laid hold of this pretence to free themselves from their confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled in Baynard's-castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he asserted, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a prompt return to the duty which they owed their lawful sovereign [x]. This motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man who expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the Queen. The lady Jane, after wearing the vain pageantry of a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with much more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her [y]: And the messengers who were sent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the Queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction [z].

Lady Jane deserted by the people.

[x] Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. [y] Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. [z] Stowe, p. 612.

The

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. The people every where, on the Queen's approach to London, gave ſenſible expreſſions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had levied, in order to ſupport their joint title againſt the uſurper [a].

The Queen proclaimed and acknowleged.

The Queen gave orders for taking into cuſtody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arreſted him, and abjectly begged his life [b]. At the ſame time were committed, the earl of Warwic, his eldeſt ſon, Ambroſe and Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marqueſs of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The Queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, the lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was deſirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and becauſe the counſellors pleaded conſtraint, as an excuſe for their treaſon, ſhe extended her pardon to moſt of them. Suffolk himſelf recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great meaſure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reaſonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only deſired permiſſion to aſk two queſtions of the peers who were appointed to ſit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treaſon who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great ſeal? and whether thoſe who were involved in the ſame guilt with himſelf, could act as his judges? Being told, that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no authority, and that perſons who lay not

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingſhed, p. 1088.

under

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553.

22 August. Northumberland executed.

under any ſentence of attainder, were ſtill innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury [y]; he acquieſced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profeſſion of the catholic religion, and told the people, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their anceſtors: Whether that ſuch were his real ſentiments, which he had formerly concealed, from intereſt and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the Queen more favourable to his family [z]. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, ſuffered with him; and this was all the blood ſpilt on account of ſo dangerous and criminal an enterprize againſt the rights of the ſovereign. Sentence was pronounced againſt the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any preſent intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded ſufficiently in their favour.

When Mary firſt arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon to the marqueſs of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic cauſe, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection [a]. They were all of them reſtored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithſtanding that it had paſſed in Parliament, was repreſented as null and invalid; becauſe, among other informalities, no ſpecial mat-

[y] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingſhed, p. 1089. [z] Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614. [a] Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingſhed, p. 1088.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

ter had been alleged againſt him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors, without giving any offence, had always made uſe of in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney received the title of earl of Devonſhire; and though educated in ſuch cloſe confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a conſiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty. Beſides performing all thoſe popular acts, which, though they only regarded individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the Queen endeavoured to ingratiate herſelf with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother by the laſt Parliament [b].

The joy ariſing from the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the ſovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the ſtate of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the proteſtant communion, apprehenſions were generally entertained of the principles and prejudices of the new Queen. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be ſomewhat connected with the papal authority; and as that princeſs was educated with her mother, ſhe had imbibed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheſt averſion to thoſe new tenets, whence, ſhe believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally ſprung. The diſcouragements which ſhe lay under from her father, though at laſt they brought her to comply with his will, tended ſtill more to encreaſe her diſguſt to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her, during Edward's reign, had no other effect

[b] Stowe, p. 616.

than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradictions and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities fitted to compoſe a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reaſon to dread, not only the abolition, but the perſecution of the eſtabliſhed religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before ſhe diſcovered her intentions.

Catholic religion reſtored.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, Veſey, were reinſtated in their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the ſame, by the ſentence of commiſſioners, who were appointed to review their proceſs and condemnation. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by authority of Parliament, the Queen erected it anew by letters-patent, and replaced Tonſtal in his regalities as well as in his revenue. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by her prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence[q]; and it was eaſy to foreſee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloceſter, were thrown into priſon; whither old Latimer alſo was ſent ſoon after[r]. The zealous biſhops and prieſts were encouraged in their forwardneſs to revive the maſs, though contrary to the preſent laws. Judge Hales, who had diſcovered ſuch conſtancy in defending the Queen's title, loſt all his merit by an oppoſition to thoſe illegal practices; and being committed to cuſtody, was treated with ſuch ſeverity,

[q] Heylin, p. 23. Fox, vol. iii. p. 16. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 26. [r] Godwin, p. 336.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

that he fell into frenzy, and killed himſelf [g]. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, when they preſumed to plead the promiſe which the Queen, when they inliſted themſelves in her ſervice, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion: One, in particular, was ſet in the pillory, becauſe he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which ſhe had taken on that occaſion. And though the Queen ſtill promiſed, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate thoſe who differed from her [h], men foreſaw, that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble ſecurity, when ſet in oppoſition to religious prejudices.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the Queen, during the reign of Henry, had been conſiderable; and he had ſucceſsfully employed his good offices in mitigating the ſevere prejudices which that monarch had entertained againſt her [i]. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in ſolliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made ſufficient atonement by his ſufferings in defence of the catholic cauſe. The primate, therefore, had reaſon to expect little favour during the preſent reign; but it was by his own indiſcreet zeal, that he brought on himſelf the firſt violence and perſecution. A report being ſpread, that Cranmer, in order to make his court to the Queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, the archbiſhop, to wipe off this aſperſion, drew up a manifeſto in his own defence. Among other expreſſions, he

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 247. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15, 19. Baker, p. 317. [h] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 245. [i] Ibid. p. 240, 241. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336.

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there ſaid, that as the devil was a lyar from the beginning, and the father of lies, ſo he had at this time ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion: That the infernal ſpirit now endeavoured to reſtore the Latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effectuate his purpoſe, had falſely made uſe of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the maſs is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but likewiſe diſcovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inſpired writings, and is beſides replete with many horrid blaſphemies [a]. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppoſing the Queen's acceſſion. Sentence of high treaſon was pronounced againſt him; and though his guilt was ſhared with the whole privy council, and was even leſs than that of moſt of the others, this ſentence, however ſevere, muſt be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reſerved for a more cruel puniſhment. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

PETER Martyr, ſeeing a perſecution gathering againſt the reformers, deſired leave to withdraw [b]; and while ſome zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded, that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generouſly furniſhed him with ſupplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal ſtill encreaſed, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public order, and buried in a dung-hill [c]. The bones of Bucer and Fa-

[a] Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. N° 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2.
[b] Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.
[c] Heylin, p. 26.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. gius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge [d]. John a Laſco was firſt ſilenced, and then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants followed him; and the nation thereby loſt many uſeful hands for arts and manufactures. Several Engliſh proteſtants alſo took ſhelter in foreign parts, and every thing bore a diſmal aſpect for the reformation.

5th October. A Parliament.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by the proteſtants from the Parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. A zealous reformer [e] pretends, that great violence and iniquity were uſed in the elections; but beſides that the authority of this writer is inconſiderable, that practice, as the neceſſities of government ſeldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There ſtill remained ſuch numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give ſuch candidates the prevalence in moſt elections; and all thoſe who ſcrupled compliance with the court religion, rather declined taking a ſeat in the houſe, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the Queen, could afterwards afford them no protection againſt the violence of prerogative. It ſoon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be obſequious to Mary's deſigns; and as the peers were moſtly attached to the court, from intereſt or expectation, little oppoſition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the Parliament, the court ſhowed a very ſignal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houſes, a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Latin

[d] Saunders de Schiſm. Anglic. [e] Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, ſays nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

tongue,

tongue. attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed by act of Parliament [f]. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was very ſeverely handled, and was violently thruſt out of the houſe [g]. The Queen, however, ſtill retained the title of ſupreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to reſtore religion to the ſame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuſes of popery, which were chiefly grievous to the nation, would never be revived. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

THE firſt bill paſſed by the Parliament, was of a very popular nature, and aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon which was not contained in the ſtatute of Edward the third, and every ſpecies of felony which did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry the eighth [h]. The Parliament next declared the Queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer [i], whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the ſtatutes of King Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote [k]; and thereby the national religion was replaced on the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the death of Henry. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and this act of juſtice was much more reaſonable than the declaring that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Moſt of the clauſes of the riot act, paſſed in the late reign, were re-

[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 19. [g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.

[h] Mariæ, ſeſſ. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clauſe of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was loſt, which required the confronting two witneſſes, in order to prove any treaſon.

[i] Mariæ, ſeſſ. 2. c. 1. [k] 1 Mariæ, ſeſſ. 2. c. 12.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

vived: A ſtep which eluded, in a great meaſure, the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of the Parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houſes with the Queen's inclinations, they had ſtill a reſerve in certain articles; and her choice of a huſband was, in particular, of ſuch importance to national intereſt, that they determined not to ſubmit tamely, in that reſpect, to her will and pleaſure. There were three marriages [l], concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated after her acceſſion to the crown. The firſt perſon propoſed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who, being an Engliſhman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail to be acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging perſon and addreſs, he had gained viſibly on the Queen's affections, and hints were dropt him of her favourable diſpoſitions towards him [m]. But that nobleman neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter. This choice occaſioned a great coldneſs of Mary towards Devonſhire; and made her break out in a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had ſunk deep into the malignant heart of the Queen; and after the declaration made by Parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, ſhe wanted not a pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princeſs had made ſome difficulty of diſguiſing her ſentiments, very violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance. But when the Queen found that Elizabeth had obſtructed

[l] Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3. [m] Godwin, p. 339.

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her views in a point, which, perhaps, touched her ſtill more nearly, her reſentment, excited by pride, knew no longer any bounds; and the princeſs was viſibly expoſed to the greateſt danger [n]. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

CARDINAL Pole, who had never taken prieſt's orders, was another party propoſed to the Queen; and there appeared many reaſons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and generoſity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the higheſt dignity on the death of Paul the third [o]; the Queen's affection for the counteſs of Saliſbury, his mother, who had once been her governeſs; the violent animoſity to which he had been expoſed on account of his attachment to the Romiſh communion; all theſe conſiderations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement, he was repreſented as unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the hurry of buſineſs [p]. The Queen, therefore, dropt all views of that alliance: But as ſhe entertained a great regard for Pole's wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill propoſed to reap the benefit of his advice in the adminiſtration of her government. She ſecretly entered into a negotiation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Bruſſels; ſhe ſent aſſurances to the pope, then Julius the third, of her earneſt deſire to reconcile herſelf and her kingdoms to the holy ſee; and ſhe deſired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office [q].

THESE two marriages being rejected, the Queen caſt her eye towards the emperor's family, from which

[n] Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255. [o] Father Paul, book iii. [p] Heylin, p. 31. [q] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. her mother was deſcended, and which, during her own diſtreſſes, had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles the fifth, who a few years before was almoſt abſolute maſter of Germany, had exerciſed his power in ſuch an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme diſguſt to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties and privileges from the encroachments of that monarch[r]. Religion had ſerved him as a pretence for his uſurpations; and from the ſame principle he met with that oppoſition which overthrew his grandeur, and daſhed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Heſſe, who, by his advice, and on his aſſurances, had put himſelf into the emperor's hands, ſhould be unjuſtly detained priſoner, formed a ſecret conſpiracy among the proteſtant princes; and covering his intentions with the moſt artful diſguiſes, he ſuddenly marched his forces againſt Charles, and narrowly miſſed becoming maſter of his perſon. The proteſtants flew to arms in every quarter; and their inſurrection, aided by an invaſion from France, reduced the emperor to ſuch extremity, that he was obliged to ſubmit to articles of peace, which enſured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour, he made an attack on France; and laying ſiege to Metz, with an army of an hundred thouſand men, he conducted the enterprize in perſon, and ſeemed determined, at all hazards, to ſucceed in an undertaking which had attracted the attention of all Europe. But the duke of Guiſe, who defended Metz, with a garriſon compoſed of the braveſt nobility of France, exerted ſuch vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the ſiege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to perſevere any longer. He retired with the remains of

[r] Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

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his army, into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverſe of fortune which, in his declining years, had ſo fatally overtaken him. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

No ſooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of his kinſwoman, Mary, to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to ballance all the loſſes which he had ſuffered in Germany. His ſon, Philip, who was a widower, had but one ſon by his former marriage; and tho' he was only twenty-ſeven years of age, eleven years younger than the Queen, this objection, it was thought, might eaſily be overlooked, and there was no reaſon to deſpair of her having ſtill a numerous iſſue. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herſelf more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe was ever ſtrongly attached, readily embraced the propoſal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime miniſter, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, ſeconded the project of the Spaniſh alliance; and repreſented, both to her and the emperor, the neceſſity of ſtopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He obſerved, that the Parliament, amidſt all their compliances, had diſcovered evident ſymptoms of jealouſy, and ſeemed at preſent determined, to grant no further conceſſions in favour of the catholic religion: That though they might make a ſacrifice to their Sovereign of ſome ſpeculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of ſome rites, which ſeemed not of any immediate importance, they had imbibed ſuch ſtrong prejudices againſt the

CHAP. XXXVI.

1553. the pretended uſurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to ſubmit to its authority: That the danger of making a reſumption of the abbey lands, would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepoſſeſſions which were but too general among the people, againſt the doctrine and worſhip of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation againſt the Spaniſh alliance; and if that point was urged, at the ſame time with further changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and inſurrection: That the marriage, being once compleated, would give authority to the Queen's meaſures, and enable her afterwards to forward that pious work, in which ſhe was engaged: And that it was even neceſſary previouſly to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the Engliſh, and ſuch as would ſeem to enſure to them their independency, and the entire poſſeſſion of their ancient laws and privileges[a].

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, aſſented to all theſe reaſons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by repreſenting the neceſſity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more ſincere in his religious opinions, and leſs guided by the maxims of civil policy, after having ſent oppoſite advice to the Queen, had ſet out on his journey to England, where he was to exerciſe his legantine commiſſion; he thought proper to ſtop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's conſent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage mean-while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 261.

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to eſpouſe Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the Queen by the conceſſions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear, that ſhe was reſolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they ſent a committee to remonſtrate againſt that dangerous meaſure. To prevent farther applications of the ſame kind, ſhe thought proper to diſſolve them. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553. 6th December.

A CONVOCATION had been ſummoned at the ſame time with the Parliament; and the majority here alſo appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romaniſts, to diſpute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as tranſubſtantiation was the article which, of all others, they deemed the cleareſt, and founded on the moſt irreſiſtible argument, they choſe to try their ſtrength by defending it. The proteſtants puſhed the diſpute as far as the clamour and noiſe of their antagoniſts would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained ſome advantage, when, in the courſe of the debate, they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Chriſt had, in his laſt ſupper, held himſelf in his hand, and had ſwallowed and eat himſelf[b]. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romaniſts maintained, that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adverſaries were blind and obſtinate heretics; that nothing but the moſt extreme depravity of heart could induce men to conteſt ſuch ſelf-evident principles; and that the ſevereſt puniſhments were due to their perverſe wickedneſs. So pleaſed were they with their ſuperiority in this favourite point, that they ſoon after renewed the diſpute at Oxford; and to ſhow, that they feared no force of learning or capacity,

[b] Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

where

CHAP. XXXVI.

where reaſon was ſo evidently on their ſide, they ſent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, 1553. to try whether theſe renowned controverſialiſts could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles[c]. The iſſue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the ſame place during the reign of Edward.

1554. AFTER the Parliament and convocation were broke up, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated, in moſt places, by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by the government, were ſtill more openly put in execution: The maſs was every where reeſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office. It has been aſſerted by ſome writers, that three fourths of the clergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; though other hiſtorians, more accurate[d], have eſtimated the number of ſufferers to be far ſhort of this proportion. Could any principles of law, juſtice or reaſon be attended to, where ſuperſtition predominates; the prieſts would never have been expelled for their paſt marriages, which at that time were permitted by the laws of the kingdom. A viſitation was appointed, in order to reſtore more perfectly the maſs and the antient rites. Among other articles the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice[e]. It is to be obſerved, that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry the eighth, which were ſtill in force.

THIS violent and ſudden change of religion inſpired the proteſtants with great diſcontent; and even affected

[c] Mem. Cran. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50. [d] Harmer, p. 138.
[e] Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25.

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indifferent ſpectators with concern, by the hardſhips, to which ſo many individuals were on that account expoſed. CHAP. XXXVI.

But the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern, and diffuſed univerſal apprehenſions for the liberty and independance of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that tho' Philip ſhould have the title of King, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the Queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the Queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on her as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die and his line be extinct, the Queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip[f]. Such was the treaty of marriage ſigned by count Egmont, and four other ambaſſadors ſent over to England by the emperor. 1554. Queen's marriage with Philip. 15th Jan.

These articles when publiſhed, gave no ſatisfaction to the nation: It was univerſally ſaid, that the emperor, in order to get poſſeſſion of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no ſerious intention of obſerving them: That the uſual fraud and ambition of that monarch might aſſure the nation of ſuch a con-

[f] Rymer, xv. p. 377.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

1554.

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THESE complaints, being diffuſed through the whole people, prepared the nation for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them; the conſequences might have proved fatal to the Queen's authority. But the King of France, though engaged in hoſtilities with the emperor, refuſed to concur in any propoſal for an inſurrection, leſt he ſhould afford Mary a pretence for declaring war againſt him. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spaniſh alliance were only dreaded at a diſtance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some perſons, however, more turbulent than the reſt, believed, that it would be ſafer to prevent than to redreſs grievances; and they framed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the Queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat

[f] Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Godwin, p. 339.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

1554. Wiat's insurrection.

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[g] Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340. [h] Fox, vol. iii. p. 30.
[i] Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingshed, p. 1094.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

1554. After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed; and he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the Queen, that ſhe ſhould put the Tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellers as hoſtages, and in order to enſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was over-awed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he paſſed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently waſted ſo much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt; and though he entered Weſtminſter without reſiſtance, his followers, finding that no perſon of note joined him, inſenſibly fell off, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkley[k], Above ſeventy perſons ſuffered for this rebellion: Four hundred were conducted before the Queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wiat was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that on his examination, he had accuſed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

6th Febr.

Inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during ſome time, treated with great harſhneſs by her ſiſter; and many ſtudied inſtances of diſcouragement and diſreſpect had been practiſed againſt her. She was ordered to take place at court after the counteſs of Lenox and the dutcheſs of

[k] Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621.

Suffolk,

CHAP. XXXVI.

1554.

Suffolk, as if ſhe were not legitimate: Her friends were diſcountenanced on every occaſion: And while her virtues, which were now become very eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the Queen ſtill diſcovered itſelf every day by freſh ſymptoms, and obliged the Princeſs to retire into the country. Mary ſeized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her ſiſter in ſome appearance of guilt, ſent for her under a ſtrong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be very ſtrictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ againſt her any falſe evidence, which might have offered; and the Princeſs made ſo good a defence, that the Queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing her[1]. In order to ſend her out of the kingdom, a marriage was propoſed to her with the duke of Savoy; and when ſhe declined giving her conſent, ſhe was committed to cuſtody, under a very ſtrong guard, at Wodeſtoke. The earl of Devonſhire, tho' equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay caſtle.

BUT this rebellion proved ſtill more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her huſband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and tho' the rebels and malecontents ſeemed chiefly to reſt their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire, the Queen, incapable of generoſity or clemency, determined to remove every perſon, from whom the leaſt danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered no unwelcome

[1] Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99, 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

news to her. The Queen's bigotted zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who moleſted her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve of three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in uſe, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter[m] in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution, her huſband, the lord Guilford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and ſent him word, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy, which their approaching end required of them: Their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity[n].

12th Febr.

Execution of lady Jane Gray.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited

[m] Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.
[n] Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319.

with

with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports, which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her table-book, where ſhe had juſt wrote three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh [o]. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; and that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhow her favour. On the ſcaffold, ſhe made a ſpeech to the bye-ſtanders, in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame entirely on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity, with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: That ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: That ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to attone for that diſobedience, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

[o] Heylin, p. 167.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

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THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely death. The lord Thomas Grey loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throcmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The Queen was ſo enraged at this diſappointment, that, inſtead of releaſing him as the law required, ſhe re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in cloſe confinement during ſome time. But her reſentment ſtopped not here: The jury, being ſummoned before the council, were all of them ſent to priſon, and afterwards fined, ſome of them a thouſand pounds, others two thouſand a-piece[q]. This illegal violence proved fatal to ſeveral, among others to Sir John Throcmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had been formerly rejected. The Queen filled the Tower and all the priſons with nobility and gentry, whom their intereſt with the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her ſuſpicion. And finding, that ſhe was become extremely odious to the nation, ſhe was reſolved to diſable them from reſiſtance, by ordering general muſters, and directing the commiſ-

[p] Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hollingſhed, p. 1099.

[q] Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingſhed, p. 1104, 1121. Strype, vol. iii. p. 120.

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THOUGH the government laboured under ſo general an odium, the Queen's authority had received ſuch an increaſe from the ſuppreſſion of Wiat's rebellion, that the miniſtry hoped to find a very compliant diſpoſition in the new Parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The emperor alſo, in order to facilitate the ſame end, had borrowed no leſs a ſum than 400,000 pounds, which he had ſent over to England, to be diſtributed in bribes and penſions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any inſtance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the Queen, notwithſtanding her bigotry, reſumed her legal title of ſupreme head of the church, which ſhe had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; in which he aſſerted the Queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right to chooſe a huſband for herſelf; obſerved how proper an uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, deſcended from the houſe of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry the eighth's poſterity, of whom there now remained none but the Queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order to obviate the inconveniences, which might ariſe from different pretenders, it was neceſſary to inveſt the Queen, by law, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of appointing her ſucceſſor: A power, he ſaid, which was not to be regarded as a new thing in England, ſince it had formerly been conferred on Henry the eighth[k]. 1554. A Parliament. 5th April.

THE Parliament were much diſpoſed to gratify the Queen in all her deſires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were brought into

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CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

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CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

such visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to postpone all considerations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the catholic religion: They remarked, that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the Queen's sister; and they thence concluded, that a design was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected, that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province of the Spanish monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with these projects, when they heard, that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

THE Parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice, which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage[1], which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined passing any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the Queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of exerting any authority in England, they passed a law, in which they declared, "that her majesty as their "only Queen, should solely and as a sole Queen, enjoy

[1] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2.

"the

"the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the "pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belong- "ing, in as large and ample a manner after her mar- "riage as before, without any title or claim accruing to "the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the "realm, or by any other means[m]." CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

A LAW paſſed in this Parliament for re-erecting the biſhopric of Durham, which had been diſſolved by the laſt Parliament of Edward[n]. The Queen had already, by an exertion of her abſolute power, put Tonſtal in poſſeſſion of that ſee: But tho' it was uſual at that time for the crown to aſſume authority which might ſeem entirely legiſlative, it was always deemed more ſafe and ſatisfactory to procure the ſanction of Parliament. Bills were introduced for ſuppreſſing erroneous opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the ſix articles, together with thoſe againſt the Lollards, againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching: But none of theſe laws could paſs the two houſes. A proof, that the Parliament had reſerves even in their conceſſions with regard to religion; about which they ſeem to have been leſs ſcrupulous. The Queen, therefore, finding that they would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them. 5th May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had lived ſo many years in a very reſerved and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo ſmit with affection for her young ſpouſe, whom ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe waited with the utmoſt impatience for the completion of the marriage;

[m] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 1. [n] Ib. cap. 3.

and

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent[o]. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that, though ſhe brought him a kingdom as a dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter. Her fondneſs was but the more encreaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event, to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral informing her, that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf into their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them. She then dreaded, that the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly impaired by this extreme impatience; and ſhe was ſtruck with a new apprehenſion, leſt her perſon, impaired by time, and blaſted by ſickneſs, ſhould render her leſs acceptable to her future ſpouſe. Her glaſs diſcovered to her how hagard ſhe was become, and when ſhe remarked the decay of her perſon, ſhe knew not whether ſhe ought more to deſire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

AT laſt came the moment ſo impatiently expected; and news were brought the Queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton[p]. A few days after, they were married in Weſt-

[o] Strype, vol. iii. p. 125.

[p] Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by Sir William Monſon, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spaniſh navy, when Philip was on board;

Weſtminſter; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip diſplayed his wealth with great oſtentation, ſhe carried him to Windſor, the palace in which they afterwards reſided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to cure the prejudices, which the Engliſh nation had entertained againſt him. He was diſtant and reſerved in his addreſs; took no notice of the ſalutes even of the moſt conſiderable noblemen; and ſo entrenched himſelf in forms and ceremonies, that he was in a manner inacceſſible[q]: But this circumſtance rendered him the more acceptable to the Queen, who deſired to have no company but her huſband's, and who was impatient when ſhe met with any interruption to her fondneſs. The ſhorteſt abſence gave her vexation; and when he ſhowed civilities to any other woman, ſhe could not conceal her jealouſy and reſentment.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1554.

19th July. Philip's arrival in England.

THE Queen ſoon found, that Philip's ruling paſſion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him and ſecuring his affections was to render him maſter of England. The intereſt and liberty of her people were conſiderations of ſmall moment, in compariſon of her obtaining this favourite point. She ſummoned a new Parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that ſhe might acquire the greater authority over them, ſhe imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters directing a proper choice of members[r]. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spaniſh gold, the powers of prerogative, the diſcouragement of the gentry, particularly of the proteſtants; all theſe

12th November.

board; becauſe they had not lowered their topſails, as a mark of deference to the Engliſh navy in the narrow ſeas. A very ſpirited behaviour, and very unlike thoſe times.

[q] Baker, p. 320. [r] Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155.

cauſes,

CHAP. XXXVI. 1544.

causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, in her summons of the Parliament, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England[s]. Cardinal Pole was arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine power from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the Parliament passed an act, reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the Queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over to London; and after being introduced to the King and Queen, he invited the Parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily separated. This message was taken in good part: and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance for their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for their absolution and forgiveness[t]. Their request was easily granted. The legate, in name of his holiness, gave the Parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius the third, being informed of these transactions, said, that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity, to receive thanks from

[s] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

[t] Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247.

the

the Engliſh, for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing[u]. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of thoſe times, for and againſt popery, the object always uppermoſt with the nobility and gentry, was their money and eſtates; and they were not brought to make theſe conceſſions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated aſſurances, from the pope as well as the Queen, that the plunder which they had made of the eccleſiaſtics, ſhould never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors[x]. But not truſting altogether to theſe promiſes, the Parliament took care, in the law itſelf[y], by which they repealed the former ſtatutes enacted againſt the pope's authority, to inſert a clauſe, in which, beſides beſtowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the ſchiſm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convocation alſo, in order to remove all apprehenſions on that head, were induced to preſent a petition to the ſame purpoſe[z]; and the legate, in his maſter's name, ratified all theſe tranſactions. It now appeared, that, notwithſtanding the efforts of the Queen and King, the power of the papacy was effectually ſuppreſſed, and invincible barriers fixed againſt its re-eſtabliſhment. For though the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtics was, for the preſent, reſtored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably loſt, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even theſe arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the tranſactions were yet recent, could not regain

[u] Father Paul, lib. iv. [x] Heylin, p. 41.

[y] 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

[z] Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 159.

to

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

to the church her poſſeſſions ſo lately raviſhed from her; and no expedients were left the clergy for enriching themſelves, but thoſe which they had at firſt practiſed, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbariſm, and ſuperſtition to operate their effect on mankind[a].

THE Parliament having ſecured their own poſſeſſions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow-citizens; and they revived the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics[b], which had been rejected in the former Parliament. They alſo enacted ſeveral laws againſt ſeditious words and rumours[c]; and they made it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the Queen[d]. Each Parliament hitherto had been induced to go a ſtep farther than their predeceſſors; but none of them had entirely loſt all regard to national intereſts. Their hatred againſt the Spaniards, as well as their ſuſpicion of Philip's pretenſions, ſtill prevailed; and though the Queen attempted to get her huſband declared preſumptive heir of the crown,

a The pope at firſt gave cardinal Pole powers to tranſact only with regard to the paſt fruits of the church lands; but being admoniſhed of the danger attending any attempt towards a reſumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's power, and granted him authority to enſure the future poſſeſſion of the church lands to the preſent proprietors. There was only one clauſe in the cardinal's powers that has given occaſion for ſome ſpeculation. An exception was made of ſuch caſes as Pole ſhould think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy ſee. But Pole ſimply ratified the poſſeſſion of the whole church lands; and his commiſſion had given him full powers to that purpoſe. See Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. vii. p. 264, 266. It is true, ſome councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration.

b 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6. c Ibid. c. 3, 9.
d 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 10.

and

and to have the adminiſtration put into his hands; ſhe failed in all her hopes, and could not ſo much as procure the Parliament's conſent to his coronation[e]. All attempts likewiſe to obtain ſubſidies from the commons, in order to ſupport the emperor in his war againſt France, proved fruitleſs; and the uſual animoſity and jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt that kingdom, ſeemed to have given place, for the preſent, to like paſſions againſt Spain. Philip, ſenſible of the prepoſſeſſions entertained againſt him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the releaſe of ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction; the lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaiſſe, who had been confined from the ſuſpicions or reſentment of the court[f]. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protection of the lady Elizabeth, from the ſpite and malice of the Queen, and the reſtoring her to liberty. This meaſure was not the effect of any generoſity in Philip, a ſentiment of which he was wholly incapable; but of a refined policy, which made him foreſee, that, if that princeſs were put to death, the next lawful heir was the Queen of Scots, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonſhire alſo reaped ſome benefit from the affected popularity of Philip, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuſpicion, begged permiſſion to travel[g]; and he ſoon after died in Padua, from poiſon, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialiſts. He was the eleventh and laſt earl of Devonſhire of that noble family, allied to the royal family of France.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

[e] Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322.
[f] Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626.
[g] Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, p. 349.

THE

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE Queen's extreme deſire of having iſſue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of her pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, ſhe fancied, that ſhe felt the embryo ſtir in her womb. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptiſt, who leaped in his mother's belly at the ſalutation of the virgin [h]. Diſpatches were immediately ſent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were iſſued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already ſettled [i]; for the catholics held themſelves aſſured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, biſhop of London, made public prayers be ſaid, that Heaven would pleaſe to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation remained ſtill ſomewhat incredulous; and men were perſuaded, that the Queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropſy, which the diſordered ſtate of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was ſtill maintained with all poſſible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to ſupport his authority in the kingdom. The Parliament paſſed a law, which, in caſe of the Queen's death, appointed him protector during the minority; and the King and Queen, finding they could obtain no further conceſſions, came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter Hall, and diſſolved them.

1554.

1555.

16 January.

THERE happened a remarkable affair this ſeſſion, which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Several members of the lower houſe, diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the Parliament, but finding themſelves unable to prevent them, made a ſeceſſion, in order to ſhow their diſappro-

[h] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 348. [i] Heylin, p. 46.

bation, and refuſed any longer to attend the houſe[1]. For this inſtance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's-bench after the diſſolution of the Parliament: Six of them ſubmitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The reſt traverſed; and the Queen died before the affair was brought to an iſſue. Judging of the matter by the ſubſequent pretenſions of the houſe of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of a free government, this attempt of the Queen's miniſters muſt be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at that time, and was never called in queſtion by any future houſe of commons which ſat during this reign. CHAP. XXXVI. 1555.

[1] Coke's Inſtitutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 165.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Reaſons for and againſt Toleration——Perſecutions.——A Parliament.——The Queen's extortions.——The emperor reſigns his crown.——Execution of Cranmer.——War with France.——Battle of St. Quintin.——Calais taken by the French.——Affairs of Scotland.——Marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots.——A Parliament.——Death of the Queen.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1555.

THE ſucceſs which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the Parliament, and engaging them both to approve of the Spaniſh alliance, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient religion, two points, to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme averſion, had ſo raiſed his character for wiſdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the Queen's councils; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer ſuffered any oppoſition or controul. Cardinal Pole himſelf, tho' more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and tho' ſuperior in birth and ſtation, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely reſpected, he was repreſented more as a good man than a great miniſter. A very important queſtion was frequently debated, before the Queen and council, by theſe two eccleſiaſtics; whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be put in execution, or ſhould only be employed to reſtrain, by terror, the bold attempts of theſe zealots. Pole was very ſincere

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

ſincere in his religious principles; and tho' his moderation had made him be ſuſpected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheraniſm; he was ſeriouſly perſuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with ſuch important intereſts. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhown, that, had he not been puſhed to extremity under the late minority, he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to make a ſacrifice of his principles to the eſtabliſhed theology. This was the well-known character of theſe two great counſellors; yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport, by perſecution, that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference[k]. This circumſtance of public conduct was of the higheſt importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it ſoon became the ſubject of diſcourſe throughout the nation. We ſhall repreſent, in a few words, the topics by which each ſide ſupported, or might have ſupported, their ſcheme of policy; and ſhall diſplay the oppoſite reaſons which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be ſo much canvaſſed.

Reaſons for and againſt toleration.

THE practice of perſecution, ſaid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the ſcandal of all religion; and the theological animoſity, ſo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their oppoſite tenets, is a certain proof, that they have never reached

[k] Heylin, p. 47.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1555. any ſerious perſuaſion with regard to theſe remote and ſublime ſubjects. Even thoſe who are the moſt impatient of contradiction in other controverſies, are mild and moderate in compariſon of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowlege and experience give him a perfect aſſurance of his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the oppoſition and miſtakes of others. But while men zealouſly maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are ſhaken in their imagined faith, by the oppoſite perſuaſion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagoniſts that impatience which is the natural reſult of ſo diſagreeable a ſtate of the underſtanding. They then embrace eaſily any pretence for repreſenting opponents as impious and prophane; and if they can alſo find a colour for connecting this violence with the intereſts of civil government, they can no longer be reſtrained from giving uncontrouled ſcope to vengeance and reſentment. But ſurely never enterprize was more unfortunate than that of founding perſecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the ſake of peace, to ſettle an entire uniformity of opinion, in queſtions which, of all others, are leaſt ſubjected to the criterion of human reaſon. The univerſal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious ſubjects, can only be owing at firſt to the ſtupid ignorance and barbariſm of the people, who never indulge themſelves in any ſpeculation or enquiry; and there is no other expedient for maintaining that uniformity, ſo fondly ſought after, but by baniſhing for ever all curioſity and all improvement in ſcience and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a ſteady ſeverity, the firſt beginnings of controverſy; but beſides that this policy expoſes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of ſuperſtition, and the magiſtrate to the endleſs encroachments of eccleſiaſtics, it alſo renders men ſo delicate,

delicate, that they can never endure to hear of oppoſition; and they will ſome time pay dearly for that falſe tranquillity in which they have been ſo long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine, that their principles could be conteſted, fly out into the moſt outrageous violence when any event (and ſuch events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives riſe to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be ſaid in favour of ſuppreſſing, by perſecution, the firſt beginnings of hereſy, no ſolid argument can be alledged for extending ſeverity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital puniſhments, to extirpate an opinion, which has diffuſed itſelf through men of every rank and ſtation. Beſides the extreme barbarity of ſuch an attempt, it proves commonly ineffectual to the purpoſe intended; and ſerves only to make men more obſtinate in their perſuaſion, and to encreaſe the number of their proſelytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and perſecution inſpires the ſectaries, is the proper diſpoſition for foſtering religious zeal: The proſpect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal puniſhment: The glory of martyrdom ſtimulates all the more furious zealots, eſpecially the leaders and preachers: Where a violent animoſity is excited by oppreſſion, men paſs naturally from hating the perſons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the ſpectators, moved with pity towards the ſuppoſed martyrs, are naturally ſeduced to embrace thoſe principles which can inſpire men with a conſtancy that appears almoſt ſupernatural. Open the door to toleration, the mutual hatred relaxes among the ſectaries; their attachment to

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

their particular religion decays; the common occupations and pleaſures of life ſucceed to the acrimony of diſputation; and the ſame man, who, in other circumſtances, would have braved flames and tortures, is engaged to change his religion from the ſmalleſt proſpect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more faſhionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowiſe connected with the ancient religion of the ſtate, is imported from foreign countries, and may eaſily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the ſeeds of future innovations. But as this inſtance would involve ſome apology for the ancient pagan perſecutions, or for the extirpation of Chriſtianity in China and Japan; it ought ſurely, on account of this deteſted conſequence, to be rather buried in eternal ſilence and oblivion.

THOUGH theſe arguments appear entirely ſatisfactory, yet ſuch is the ſubtilty of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to ſilence, and they ſtill found topics on which to ſupport the controverſy. The doctrine, ſaid they, of liberty of conſcience is founded on the moſt flagrant impiety, and ſuppoſes ſuch an indifference among all religions, ſuch an obſcurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magiſtrate incapable of diſtinguiſhing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will ſurely give a criterion by which they may be aſcertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows theſe principles to be perverted, or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permiſſion for the vending of poiſon, under the ſhape of bread, to all his ſubjects. Perſecution may, indeed, ſeem better calculated to make hypo-

hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocriſy often turn into reality; and the children at leaſt, ignorant of their parents diſſimulation, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is abſurd, in oppoſition to conſiderations of ſuch unſpeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous intereſts of civil ſociety; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear ſo certain and univerſal in favour of toleration as by ſome it is repreſented. Where ſects ariſe, whoſe fundamental principle on all ſides, is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magiſtrate left but to take party, and by rendering one ſect entirely prevalent, reſtore, at leaſt for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here ſickly, muſt not be treated as if it were in a ſtate of ſound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ſerve only to encourage the hopes of all the ſects, and keep alive their animoſity. The proteſtants, far from tolerating the religion of their anceſtors, regard it as an impious and deteſtable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely maſters, enacted very ſevere, tho' not capital, puniſhments againſt all exerciſe of the catholic worſhip, and even againſt ſuch as barely abſtained from their profane rites and ſacraments. Nor are inſtances wanting of their endeavours to ſecure an imagined orthodoxy by the moſt rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptiſts to the ſtake; And if perſecution of any kind is to be admitted, the moſt bloody and violent will ſurely be allowed the moſt juſtifiable, as the moſt effectual. Impriſonments, fines, confiſcations, whippings, ſerve only to irritate the ſects, without diſabling them from reſiſtance: But the ſtake,

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

the wheel, or the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation or baniſhment of all the heretics, who are inclined to give diſturbance, and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt.

THE arguments of Gardiner being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed [z], the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to practiſe violence againſt the proteſtants, and deſired her to conſider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to extirpate hereſy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confuſion and diſappointment, the ſcheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let looſe the laws in their full rigour againſt the reformed religion; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror, which have ever ſince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteſtation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion.

Violent perſecutions in England.

THE perſecutors began with Rogers, who was prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was firſt to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perſeverance and courage in Rogers, which it may ſeem ſtrange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all ſects, do notwithſtanding furniſh many examples.

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any ſuch advice: For he himſelf was at this very time proceeding with great violence in perſecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. 1.

Rogers,

Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under other very powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a prieſt; he could not poſſibly have a wife: Thus joining inſult to cruelty, Rogers was burnt in Smithfield [a]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

HOOPER, biſhop of Gloceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of ſatisfaction to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly taught them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the Queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by his recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and chearfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity: The wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily: All his lower parts were conſumed, before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropt off: With the other he continued to beat his breaſt: He was heard to pray and exhort the people, till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy [b].

[a] Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

[b] Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

SANDERS

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

SANDERS was burned at Coventry: A pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt; welcome "everlaſting life." Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was conſumed by flames in that place, amidſt his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he repeated a pſalm in Engliſh: One of his guards ſtruck him on the mouth, and bid him ſpeak Latin: Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter, poſſeſſed of ſuch zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in a diſpute with an Arian, he ſpit in his adverſary's face, to ſhow the great deteſtation which he had entertained againſt that hereſy. He afterwards wrote a treatiſe to juſtify this unmannerly expreſſion of zeal; and he ſaid, that he was led to it, in order to relieve the ſorrow conceived from ſuch horrid blaſphemy, and to ſignify how unworthy ſuch a miſcreant was of being admitted into the ſociety of any Chriſtian [c]. Philpot was a proteſtant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himſelf, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and ſuffered at Smithfield. It ſeems to be almoſt a general rule, that, in all religions except the true, no man will ſuffer martyrdom, who would not alſo inflict it willingly on all who differ from him. The ſame zeal for ſpeculative opinions is the cauſe of both.

THE article upon which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned, was, their refuſal to acknowlege the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would ſtrike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the

[c] Strype, vol. iii. p. 261. and Coll. N° 58.

invidious

invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers [d]. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst [e]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the horrid cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: The savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all these martyrdoms, that the narration, very little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to [f]. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother, "we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, "I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The

[d] Heylin, p. 47, 48. [e] Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.
[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 216.

executioners

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tye bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures: The exploſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in an extreme old age: Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames [g].

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been ſeduced by a prieſt into a diſpute, had unwarily denied the real preſence. Senſible of his danger, he immediately concealed himſelf; and Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities, if he did not produce the young man to ſtand his trial. Hunter, hearing the vexations to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily delivered himſelf up to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered, ſo ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in that poſture he expired [h]. This example, with many others of like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to ſuffer, but even to aſpire to martyrdom.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly a greater propenſity to religion, produced many inſtances of the moſt inflexible courage in ſupporting the profeſſion of it, againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment, by reaſon of their

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.
[h] Fox, vol. iii. p. 265.

unuſual

unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: But a magiſtrate who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprung from ſuch an obſtinate and heretical parent [i]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

THE perſons condemned to theſe puniſhments were not convicted for teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: They were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and articles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they were immediately, upon their refuſal, condemned to the flames [k]. Theſe inſtances of barbarity, ſo unuſual in the nation, excited horror; the conſtancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even falſe religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were ſhocked to ſee perſons of probity, of honour, of pious diſpoſitions, expoſed to puniſhments more ſevere than were inflicted on the greateſt ruffians, for crimes ſubverſive of civil ſociety. To exterminate the whole proteſtant party, was known to be impoſſible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to ſubject to torture, the moſt conſcientious and courageous among them; and allow the cowards and hypocrites to eſcape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred ſermons againſt popery; and men either avoided ſuch horrid ſpectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though ſecret, indignation againſt the perſecutors. Repeated orders were ſent from the council, to quicken the diligence of the

i Fox, vol. iii. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.
k Ibid. p. 306.

magiſtrates

CHAP. XXXVII.

1555. magiſtrates in ſearching after heretics; and, in ſome places, the gentry were obliged to countenance, by their preſence, theſe barbarous executions. Theſe violences tended only to render the Spaniſh government daily more odious; and Philip, ſenſible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf by a very groſs artifice: He ordered his confeſſor to deliver in his preſence a ſermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine ſomewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spaniſh friar[1]. But the court, finding that Bonner, however ſhameleſs and ſavage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, ſoon threw off the maſk; and the unrelenting temper of the Queen, as well as of the King, appeared without controul. A bold ſtep was even taken towards the introduction of the inquiſition into England. As the biſhops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be inveſted with ſufficient power, a commiſſion was appointed by authority of the Queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereſy. Twenty-one perſons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commiſſion runs in theſe terms; "That ſince many falſe rumours were publiſhed among "the ſubjects, and many heretical opinions were alſo "ſpread among them, therefore they were to enquire "into thoſe, either by preſentments by witneſſes, or "any other political way they could deviſe, and to ſearch "after all hereſies; the bringers in, the ſellers, the "readers of all heretical books: They were to examine "and puniſh all miſbehaviours or negligences, in any "church or chappel; and to try all prieſts that did not "preach the ſacrament of the altar; all perſons that did "not hear maſs, or come to their pariſh church to ſer-"vice, that would not go in proceſſions, or did not take

[1] Heylin, p. 56.

"holy

" holy bread or holy water: And if they found any that " did obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch hereſies, they were to " put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be pu- " niſhed according to the ſpiritual laws: Giving the " commiſſioners full power to proceed, as their diſcre- " tions and conſciences ſhould direct them, and to uſe " all ſuch means as they would invent for the ſearching " of the premiſes; empowering them alſo to call before " them ſuch witneſſes as they pleaſed, and to force them " to make oath of ſuch things as might diſcover what " they ſought after [m]." Some civil powers were alſo given the commiſſioners to puniſh vagabonds and quarrelſome perſons. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England ſtill nearer the practice of the inquiſition, letters were written to the lord North, and others, enjoining them, " To " put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons as would not " confeſs, and there to order them at their diſcretion [n]." Secret ſpies alſo, and informers, were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Inſtructions were given to the juſtices of peace, " That they " ſhould call ſecretly before them one or two honeſt per- " ſons within their limits, or more, at their diſcretion, " and command them by oath, or otherwiſe, that they " ſhall ſecretly learn and ſearch out ſuch perſons as ſhall " evil-behave themſelves in church, or idly, or ſhall de- " ſpiſe openly by words, the King's or Queen's pro- " ceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or " tell any ſeditious tales or news. And alſo, that the " ſame perſons ſo to be appointed, ſhall declare to the " ſame juſtices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd diſ- " ordered perſons, whether it ſhall be for uſing unlawful " games, and ſuch other light behaviour of ſuch ſuſpect-

[m] Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 32. [n] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

" ed

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

" ed perſons: And that the ſame information ſhall be " given ſecretly to the juſtices; and the ſame juſtices " ſhall call ſuch accuſed perſons before them, and exa- " mine them, without declaring by whom they were " accuſed. And that the ſame juſtices ſhall, upon their " examination, puniſh the offenders, according as their " offences ſhall appear, upon the accuſement and exa- " mination, by their diſcretion, either by open puniſh- " ment or by good abearing[o]." In ſome reſpects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppreſſion of the inquiſition; by introducing into every part of government, the ſame iniquities which that tribunal practiſes only for the extirpation of hereſy, and which are, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary, wherever that end is earneſtly purſued.

BUT the court had deviſed a more expeditious and ſummary method of ſuppreſſing hereſy than even the inquiſition itſelf. They iſſued a proclamation againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition; and declared, " That " whoſoever had any of theſe books, and did not pre- " ſently burn them, without reading them, or ſhewing " them to any other perſon, ſhould be eſteemed rebels; " and without any farther delay, be executed by martial " law[p]." From the ſtate of the Engliſh government, during that period, it is not ſo much the illegality of theſe proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our cenſure.

WE have thrown together almoſt all the tranſactions againſt heretics, though carried on during a courſe of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as poſſible, to return to ſuch ſhocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſuffered by fire; beſides thoſe puniſhed by

[o] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 246, 247. Heylin, p. 79.

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363.

impriſon-

imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author[q] computes, that in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles the fifth was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the church of Rome, and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such profit: Yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church[r]. Paul the fourth, after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff, that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended, that Mary still retained among her titles, that of Queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw proper, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: But to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom,

[q] Father Paul, lib. 5. [r] Heylin, p. 45.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

and then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his own conceſſion. This was an uſual artifice of the popes to give allowance to what they could not prevent [s], and afterwards pretend, that perſons, while they exerciſed their own power, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at firſt intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title, before he would beſtow it upon her; he found it wiſer to proceed in a more political, and leſs haughty manner [t].

THE other point of diſcuſſion between the pope and the Engliſh ambaſſadors was not ſo eaſily terminated. Paul inſiſted, that the property and poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be reſtored even to the uttermoſt farthing: That whatever belonged to God, could never by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: That he would willingly, in conſideration of the humble ſubmiſſions of England, make them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that ſo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaſt all their future felicity: That if they would truly ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Roman church, and Peter's pence among the reſt; nor could they expect, that that apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe, while they detained from him his poſſeſſions on earth [u]. Theſe earneſt remonſtrances, being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the Queen; and ſhe was determined, in order to eaſe

[s] Heylin, p. 45. Father Paul, lib. 5.
[t] Father Paul, lib. 5.
[u] Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45.

her

her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the crown; and the more to expreſs her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the public revenues. When this meaſure was debated in council, ſome members objected, that if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue was diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay: But the Queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England [w]. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The ſeals were given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

THESE perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public diſcontents appeared in the new Parliament, which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter [x]. A bill [y] was paſſed reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the Queen herſelf, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the houſe of commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members ſaid, that while the crown was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenues, it was in vain to beſtow riches upon it. The Parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another 21ſt October. A Parliament.

[w] Heylin, p. 53, 65. Hollingſhed, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826.
[x] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322. [y] 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap. 4.

CHAP. XXXVII.

for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of peace. The Queen finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to diſſolve the Parliament.

1555. 9th December.

THE ſpirit of oppoſition, which began to prevail in Parliament, was likely to be the more vexatious to Mary, as ſhe was otherwiſe in very bad humour on account of her huſband's abſence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the firſt opportunity to leave her, and had gone over laſt ſummer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of her huſband, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen by enforcing daily the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects, by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated, and whoſe oppoſition, in refuſing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cauſe, ſhe believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her ſo little of his company. The leſs return her love met with, the more it increaſed; and ſhe paſſed moſt of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom returned her any anſwer, and ſcarce deigned to counterfeit any ſentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government, to which ſhe attended, was the extorting money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands; and as the Parliament had granted her but a ſmall ſupply, ſhe had recourſe to expedients the moſt violent and moſt irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thouſand perſons, of whoſe compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, ſhe held herſelf beſt aſſured: But that ſum not ſufficing, ſhe exacted a general

The Queen's extortions.

general loan of an hundred pounds a-piece on every one who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year. This grievous impoſition lay very heavy on the gentry, who were obliged, many of them, to retrench their expences, and diſmiſs their ſervants, in order to enable them to comply with her commands: And as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and having no means of ſubſiſtance, betook themſelves very commonly to theft and robbery, the Queen publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe obliged their former maſters to take them back to their ſervice. She levied 60,000 marks from 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage ſome Londoners to comply the more willingly with her multiplied extortions, ſhe paſſed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting any Engliſh cloths or kerſeys for Flanders; an expedient which procured a good market for ſuch as had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciouſneſs engaged her to give endleſs diſturbance and interruption to commerce. The Engliſh company ſettled in Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of 40,000 pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found, that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after, ſhe was informed, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay a crown a piece, the uſual impoſition: She ſtruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited entirely the foreigners to make any exportation;

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

tion; and received, from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of 50,000 pounds, and an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit ran ſo low, that, tho' ſhe offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, ſhe could not obtain it, till ſhe conſtrained the city of London to be ſurety for her [m]. All theſe violent expedients were employed while ſhe herſelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had viſibly no other occaſion for money but to ſupply the demands of a huſband, who attended only to his own convenience, and ſhowed himſelf intirely indifferent about her intereſts.

The emperor reſigns his crown.

PHILIP was now become maſter of all the wealth of the Indies, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of the emperor, Charles the fifth, who, though ſtill in the vigour of his age, had taken a diſguſt to the world, and was determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happineſs which he had in vain purſued, amidſt the tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. He

25th October.

ſummoned the ſtates of the Low Countries; and ſeating himſelf on the throne for the laſt time, explained to his ſubjects the reaſons of his reſignation, abſolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderneſs made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen which he impoſed upon him [n]. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the ſtudy of his people's happineſs; and repreſented how much preferable it was to

[m] Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330, 333, 337, 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428, 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 15. [n] Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

govern,

govern, by affection rather than fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found, that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, had kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with no opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

A FEW months after, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estramedura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos, he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all the former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason, was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who allowed him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a very sensible concern. He pursued however his resolution with inflexible constancy; and shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmi- 1556.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

ties under which he laboured, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leiſure hours either in examining the controverſies of theology, with which his age had been ſo much agitated, and which he had hitherto conſidered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artiſts, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is ſaid to have here diſcovered a propenſity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his ſentiments. Having amuſed himſelf with the conſtruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was, in which he had ſo much employed himſelf during his grandeur; and how impoſſible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the ſame belief and opinion. He ſurvived his retreat two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing ſuch diſtant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected King of the Romans; with a view of his ſucceeding to the imperial dignity, as well as to his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his views, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted, that he muſt diſmember ſuch conſiderable ſtates; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the moſt tempting offers, and moſt earneſt ſolicitations, to yield up his pretenſions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitleſs, he had reſigned the imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refuſed the demand; and pretended, that, though, on the death of an emperor, he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in the caſe of a reſignation,

signation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince, that he was above all potentates of the earth, that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him, that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms, that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors, and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any Kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So saying, he stamped the ground with his old and infirm limbs: For he was now past fourscore years of age [m].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

The world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles the fifth, a prince, who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest, who in the extremity of old age exulted in his dominion, and from restless ambition and revenge was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animosity against the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by his solicitations to break it, and promised to assist him in recovering Naples and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever

[m] Father Paul, lib. 5.

proved

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

proved fatal to his predeceſſors. He himſelf engaged in hoſtilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and the duke of Guiſe being ſent with forces to ſupport him, the renewal of war between the two crowns ſeemed almoſt inevitable. Philip, though leſs warlike than his father, was no leſs ambitious; and he truſted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his caution and ſecrecy and prudence gave him the ſuperiority, he ſhould be able to ſubdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reaſon, as well as from the deſire of ſettling his new empire, he was deſirous to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without ſacrificing his honour, it was impoſſible for him to overlook the hoſtile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great induſtry. In order to give himſelf the more advantage, he was deſirous to embark England in the quarrel; and though the Queen was of herſelf extremely averſe to that deſign, he hoped, that the devoted fondneſs, which, notwithſtanding repeated inſtances of his indifference, ſhe ſtill bore him, would effectually ſecond his applications. Had the matter indeed depended ſolely on her, ſhe was incapable of reſiſting her huſband's commands; but ſhe had little weight with her council, ſtill leſs with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, ſeemed unable to ſupport itſelf even during the moſt profound tranquillity, much more if a war was kindled with France, and what ſeemed an inevitable conſequence, with Scotland, ſupported by that powerful kingdom.

Execution of Cranmer.

AN act of barbarity was this year exerciſed in England, which, added to many other inſtances of the ſame kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained a priſoner; but the Queen now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and in order

order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were ſent down to Oxford to degrade him; and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation, which ſuited his ſavage nature[a]. The revenge of the Queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattery, inſinuation and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his beneficent diſpoſition had attached to him during the courſe of his proſperity[b]. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſign a paper, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and of the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders, that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately led to execution. Cranmer, whether, that he had received a ſecret intimation of their

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

[a] 21ſt March.

[a] Mem. of Cranm. p. 375. [b] Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

deſign,

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

design, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his Sovereign and the laws, but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear without reſiſtance whatever hardſhips they ſhould impoſe upon him: That a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the ſupreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miſcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he ſeverely repented; the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: And that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, by a ſevere but juſt doom, and ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the ſtake amidſt the inſults of the catholics; and having now ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn as well as the torture of his puniſhment with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault; and he called aloud ſeveral times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his outer ſufferings, and by the force of hope and reſolution to have collected

collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, sincerity and beneficence, and all those virtues, which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party [c]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

AFTER Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus by this office, as well as his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all the sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and esteemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose [d]; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigotted disposition of the Queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious persecutor and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success [e].

THE great object of the Queen was to engage the nation in the war, which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, 1557.

[c] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352.
[d] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.
[e] Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.

very

CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

very openly and zealouſly oppoſed this meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided againſt ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all theſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependance on Spaniſh councils. Philip had come to London in order to ſupport his partizans; and he told the Queen, that, if he was not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration heightened extremely her zeal for promoting his intereſts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſmiſs them all from the board, and to appoint counſellors more obſequious; yet could ſhe not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At laſt, one Stafford and ſome other conſpirators were detected in a deſign of ſurprizing Scarborow[d]; and a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in that attempt, the Queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared againſt France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

War with France.

THE revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds[e]. Any conſiderable ſupplies could ſcarce be expected from Parliament, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the nation; and as the war would ſenſibly diminiſh the branch of the cuſtoms, the finances, it was foreſeen, would fall ſhort even of the ordinary charges of the government; much more, prove unequal to the vaſt

[d] Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs. [e] Roſſo, Succeſſi d'Inghilterra.

expences

expences of war. But though the Queen owed great arrears to all her ſervants, beſides the loans extorted from her ſubjects; theſe conſiderations had no influence on her, and ſhe continued to levy money in the ſame arbitrary and violent manner, which ſhe had formerly practiſed. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with 60,000 pounds on her huſband's entry; ſhe levied before the legal time the ſecond year's ſubſidy voted by Parliament; ſhe iſſued anew many privy ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which ſhe could not victual by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, aſſiſted by the power of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of ten thouſand men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and leſt they ſhould be known, the Spaniſh practice was followed: They were either carried thither in the night-time, or were hood-winked and muffled by the guards who conducted them [e].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

The King of Spain had aſſembled an army, which, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above ſixty thouſand ſtrong, commanded by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt captains of the age. The conſtable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppoſe him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourg and Rocroy, ſat down ſuddenly before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided of a garriſon, he expected in a few days to become maſter of it. But the admiral

[e] Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 377.

Coligny,

CHAP. XXXVII.

1557. Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour intereſted to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St. Quintin, with ſome troops of French and Scots genſdarmes; and by his exhortation and example animated the ſoldiers to a vigorous defence. He diſpatched a meſſenger to his uncle, the conſtable, deſiring a ſupply of men; and that general approached the place with his whole army,

10th Aug. in order to facilitate the entry of theſe ſuccours. But the duke of Savoy falling on the reinforcement, executed ſuch ſlaughter upon them, that not above five hundred men got into the place. He next made an attack on the

Battle of St. Quintin. French army, and put them to a total rout, killing four thouſand men, and diſperſing the reſt. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either ſlain or taken priſoners: Among the latter was the old conſtable himſelf, who fighting valiantly, and reſolute to die rather than ſurvive his defeat, was ſurrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into conſternation; Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards preſently marched thither, it could not fail to have fallen into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined firſt to take St. Quintin, in order to ſecure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finiſh this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny ſtill prolonged the ſiege ſeventeen days, which proved the ſafety of France. Some troops were levied and aſſembled. Couriers were ſent to recall the duke of Guiſe and his army from Italy: And the French having recovered from their firſt alarm, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Caſtelet, found the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that he could attempt no farther enterprize, and he broke up his camp and retired to winter quarters.

But

CHAP. XXXVII.

But the vigilant activity of Guiſe, not ſatisfied with ſecuring the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to attempt an enterprize which France, during her greateſt ſucceſſes, had always regarded as impoſſible, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortreſs; and as it was known to be the favourite of the Engliſh nation, by whom it could eaſily be ſuccoured, the recovery of that place by France, was conſidered as totally deſperate. But Coligny had remarked, that, as the town of Calais was ſurrounded with marſhes, which, during the winter, were impaſſible, except over a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the Engliſh were of late accuſtomed, on account of the lowneſs of their finances, to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the ſpring, at which time alone they judged their attendance neceſſary. On this circumſtance he had founded his deſign of making a ſudden attack on the place; he had cauſed it to be ſecretly ſurveyed by ſome engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it ſerved, tho' he himſelf was made priſoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to ſuggeſt the project of that undertaking, and to direct the conduct of the duke of Guiſe.

1557. Calais taken by the French.

1558.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being ſuddenly aſſembled, formed an army with which the duke of Guiſe made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the ſame time a great number of French ſhips, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruiſing on the Engliſh, compoſed a fleet which made an attack by ſea on the fortifications. The French aſſaulted St. Agatha with three thouſand harquebuſiers; and though the garriſon made a vigorous defence, they were ſoon obliged to abandon the

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10th Aug.

Battle of St. Quintin.

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1558.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

place, and retreat towards Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entry of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer, but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in Newnam or the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge were so happy as to effectuate this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners.

THE duke of Guise, now holding the place blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize; but in order to prevent all accidents, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He pointed his batteries towards the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossee, he commanded an assault, which succeeded, and the French made a lodgement in the castle. On the night following Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it[f], he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham, and Guisnes fell soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, in eight days, during the depth of winter, recovered this important place, that had cost Edward the third a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very campaign been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them, whenever they pleased,

[f] Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

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an entry into France, it was regarded as the moſt important poſſeſſion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by the duke of Guiſe, who, at the time that all Europe imagined France to be ſunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in oppoſition to the Engliſh, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired poſſeſſion of a place which no former King of France, even during the diſtractions of the civil wars, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, had ever ventured to attempt. The Engliſh, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortreſs, murmured loudly againſt the imprudence of the Queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitleſs war, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, had thus expoſed the nation to ſo ſevere a diſgrace. A treaſury exhauſted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a Sovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumſtances which, notwithſtanding the fair offers made by Philip, gave them ſmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, inſtigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now neceſſitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conqueſts.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

Affairs of Scotland.

AFTER the peace, which, in conſequence of King Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the Queen-dowager, on pretence of viſiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and ſhe carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Mariſchal, and many of the principal nobility. Her ſecret deſign was to take meaſures for engaging the earl of Arran to reſign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke d'Aumale, had uncontrouled authority in the court of France, ſhe

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

eaſily perſuaded Henry, and by his means the Scots nobles, to enter into her meaſures. Having alſo gained over Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, biſhop of Roſs, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, ſhe perſuaded him, by their means, to conſent to this reſignation[g]; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpoſe, ſhe took her journey to Scotland, and paſſed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great reſpect and civility; tho' he could not forbear attempting a renewal of the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he ſaid ſo happily calculated for the tranquillity, intereſt, and ſecurity of both kingdoms, and the only means of enſuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other huſband whom ſhe ſhould chooſe; nor was it eaſy for him to forgive a man, who, at the ſame time that he diſappointed ſo natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earlieſt infancy, had been entirely engaged. The Queen eluded theſe applications, by telling him, that if any meaſures had been taken diſagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerſet, who, inſtead of imploying courteſy, careſſes, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princeſs, had had recourſe to arms and violence, and had conſtrained the Scots nobility to ſend their ſovereign into France, in order to intereſt that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence[h].

When the Queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, ſhe found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be

[g] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotſwood, p. 92.
[h] Keith, p. 59.

perſuaded

perſuaded to reſign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princeſs was approaching, and that the Queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit; and having ſtipulated, that he ſhould be declared next heir to the crown, and ſhould be freed from giving any account of his paſt adminiſtration, he placed her in poſſeſſion of the power; and ſhe thenceforth aſſumed the name of regent[i]. It was an uſual ſaying of this princeſs, that provided ſhe could render her friends happy, and could enſure to herſelf a good reputation, ſhe was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this ſentiment is greatly cenſured by the zealous reformers[k], as being founded wholly on ſecular motives, it diſcovers a mind well calculated for the adminiſtration of kingdoms. D' Oiſel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaſſador from Henry, but in reality to aſſiſt her with his counſels in ſo delicate an undertaking as the government of Scotland; and this man had formed a ſcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to ſupport a ſtanding military force, which might at once repulſe the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scots nobility. But though ſome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general diſcontent to the nation; and the Queen-regent, after ingenuouſly confeſſing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to deſiſt from it, and to truſt entirely for her ſecurity to the good-will and affections of her ſubjects[l].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

THIS laudable purpoſe ſeemed to be the chief object of her adminiſtration; yet was ſhe ſometimes drawn from it by her connections with France, and by the influence

[i] 12 April 1554. [k] Knox, p. 89.
[l] Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary declared war againſt that kingdom, Henry required the Queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and ſhe ſummoned a convention of ſtates at Newbottle, and requeſted them to concur in a declaration of war againſt England. The Scots nobles, who were as jealous of French as the Engliſh were of Spaniſh influence, refuſed their aſſent; and the Queen was obliged to have recourſe to artifice, in order to effectuate her purpoſe. She ordered d'Oiſel to begin ſome fortifications at Eymouth, a place which had been diſmantled by the laſt treaty with Edward; and when the garriſon of Berwic, as ſhe foreſaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, ſhe effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scots nation, and to engage them in hoſtilities againſt England [m]. The enterprize, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than ſome inroads on the borders; and when d'Oiſel, of himſelf, conducted artillery and troops to beſiege the caſtle of Werke, he was recalled, and very ſharply rebuked by the council [n].

Marriage of the dauphin and the Queen of Scots.

In order to connect Scotland more cloſely with France, and to encreaſe the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to compleat the marriage between the young Queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was ſent by the Scots Parliament, to aſſiſt at this ceremony, and to ſettle the terms of the contract. This deputation conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the biſhops of Roſs and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes, and Caſſilis, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, natural brother to the Queen, and Erſkine of Dun. The principal conditions recommended to theſe commiſſioners, was to obtain a ſolemn engage-

[m] Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.
[n] Knox, p 93.

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ment from the Queen and dauphin, that they would preſerve the laws and privileges of Scotland, and to procure a renewal of the French King's promiſe, to ſupport, in caſe of the Queen's death, the ſucceſſion of the earl of Arran, now created duke of Chatelraut. Both theſe conditions were eaſily obtained; but the court of France took a very perfidious ſtep, directly contrary to theſe ſtipulations: They ſecretly engaged the young Queen to ſign three papers; by one of which ſhe made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the King of France, in caſe of her deceaſe without children; by another, ſhe mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or ſuch greater ſum as he ſhould have expended for her maintenance and ſupport; and by a third ſhe declared, that whatever deed ſhe had been obliged, or ſhould hereafter be obliged to perform, relative to the ſucceſſion of the crown, ſhould be entirely invalid, and that her real ſenſe and intention was contained in the firſt paper. The marriage was ſolemnized at Paris: The commiſſioners, in the name of the ſtates of Scotland, ſwore allegiance to the Queen, and, during the continuance of the marriage, to the King-dauphin, ſo he was called: And every thing ſeemed to proceed with great unanimity and concord. But the commiſſioners being required to deliver up the crown, and other enſigns of royalty, made anſwer, that they had received no authority for that purpoſe; and they ſoon after ſet out on their journey for Scotland. It is remarkable, that before they embarked, four of the commiſſioners died, within a few days of each other; and a violent, though abſurd ſuſpicion prevailed, that they had been poiſoned by orders from the family of Guiſe, on account of this refuſal[o]. It was not conſidered, that that accident, however rare, might have happened by the

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558. 24 April.

[o] Buchanan, lib. xvi. Keith, p. 75. Spotſwood, p 95.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

course of nature; and that the present season, though not attended with any pestilential disorder, was, to a remarkable degree, unhealthy all over Europe.

THE close alliance between France and Scotland threatned very nearly the repose and security of England; and it was foreseen, that, though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scots government during the absence of their sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. 20th Jan. The Queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a Parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. A Parliament. As such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the Parliaments, during this reign, had shewn, that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom were menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should, at least, be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. But such an exorbitant prerogative was at this time acknowleged to belong to the crown, that, though men might complain of its present abuses, all attempts to retrench it would have been regarded as the most criminal enterprize; and as that prerogative involved a large discretionary power, any parliamentary enquiry into its exercise, would have passed for insolent and presumptuous. The commons, therefore, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable in four years by equal portions.

THE

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

THE Parliament alſo paſſed an act, confirming all the ſales and grants of crown lands, which were either made already by the Queen, or ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years. It was eaſy to foreſee, that, in the Queen's preſent diſpoſition and ſituation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demeſnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than a prince armed with very extenſive authority, and yet reduced to beggary. This act met with oppoſition in the houſe of commons. One Copley expreſſed his fears leſt the Queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alienate the crown from the lawful heir; But his words were thought *irreverent* to her majeſty; He was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; and though he expreſſed ſorrow for his offence, he was not releaſed till the Queen was applied to for his pardon.

THE Engliſh nation, during this whole reign, were in continual apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the Queen bore her, broke out on every occaſion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princeſs retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſt her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, intermeddled in no buſineſs, and ſaw very little company. While ſhe remained in this ſituation, which was for the preſent very melancholy, but which prepared her mind for thoſe great actions by which her life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed; propoſals of marriage were made her by the Swediſh ambaſſador, in his maſter's name. As her firſt queſtion was, whether the Queen had been informed of theſe propoſals; the ambaſſador told her, that his maſter thought,

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty firſt to make his addreſſes to herſelf; and having obtained her conſent, he would next as a King, apply to her ſiſter. But the princeſs would allow him to proceed no further; and the Queen, after thanking her for this inſtance of duty, deſired to know how ſhe ſtood affected to the Swediſh propoſals. Elizabeth, though expoſed to many preſent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune; and ſhe covered her refuſal with profeſſions of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe infinitely preferred before any other[p]. The princeſs ſhowed like prudence in concealing her ſentiments of religion, in complying with the preſent modes of worſhip, and in eluding all queſtions with regard to that delicate ſubject[q].

THE money granted by Parliament, enabled the Queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and carrying ſix thouſand land forces on board, was ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N° 37.

[q] The common net at that time, ſays Sir Richard Baker, for catching of proteſtants, was the real preſence; and this net was uſed to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being aſked one time what ſhe thought of the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, whether ſhe thought it the true body of Chriſt that was in the Sacrament; it is ſaid, that, after ſome pauſing, ſhe thus anſwered:

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may ſeem but a ſlight expreſſion, yet hath it more ſolidneſs than at firſt ſight appears; at leaſt it ſerved her turn at that time, to eſcape the net, which by direct anſwer ſhe could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

Clinton;

Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Breſt too well guarded to make an attempt on that place; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town with ſome adjoining villages, and were proceeding to commit greater diſorders, when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs. But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips, had an opportunity of amply revenging this diſgrace upon the French. The Mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thouſand men; and having forced a paſſage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport. But count Egmont coming ſuddenly upon him, with ſuperior forces, he was obliged to retire; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, he choſe very ſkilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions poſſible; and poſted his right along the river Aa, which, he reaſonably thought, gave him a full ſecurity from that quarter. But the Engliſh ſhips, which were accidentally on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing, ſailed up the river, and flanking the French, did ſuch execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight, and the Spaniards gained a compleat victory[r].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guiſe, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached very near each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two Kings had come into

[r] Hollingſhed, p. 1150.

their

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

their reſpective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that ſome great and important event would follow, from the emulation of theſe warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by ambition, poſſeſſed not the enterprize, of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by a treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpoſe; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were ſomewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: But in the midſt of theſe negociations and debates, news arrived of the death of Queen Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his inſtances on that capital article. This was the only circumſtance which could have made the death of that princeſs a loſs to the kingdom.

MARY had been long in a very declining ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had made uſe of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her: The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, apprehenſions of the danger to which the catholic religion ſtood expoſed, dejected for the loſs of Calais [a], concern for the ill ſtate of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to depart for Spain, and to ſettle there during the reſt of his life:

[a] The loſs of Calais ſo much affected her, that ſhe ſaid to her attendants, that when ſhe was dead, they would find Calais at her heart.

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All theſe melancholy circumſtances preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558. Death of the Queen. 17th Nov.

It is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities, either eſtimable or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumſtance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underſtanding. And amidſt that complication of vices, which entered into her compoſition, we ſhall ſcarce find any virtue but ſincerity; a quality, which ſhe ſeems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to make ſome promiſes to the proteſtants, which ſhe certainly never intended to perform. But in theſe caſes a weak bigotted woman, under the government of prieſts, eaſily finds caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to herſelf the violation of an engagement. She appears alſo, as well as her father, to have been ſuſceptible of ſome attachments of friendſhip; and that without the caprice and inconſtancy which were ſo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that, in many circumſtances of her life, ſhe gave indications of reſolution and vigour of mind; a quality, which ſeems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole had been long in a declining ſtate of health from an intermiting fever; and he died the ſame day with the Queen, about ſixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modeſty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerſally beloved; inſomuch that in a nation, where the moſt furious perſecution was carried on, and the moſt violent

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul the fourth, had entertained some prejudices against him; and when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge, and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar and confessor to the Queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to exercise his power; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

THERE occur few general remarks, besides what have been already made in the course of our narration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet by the treasurer and admiral, both for repairing and victualling it, they computed, that, when the money was expended, ten thousand pounds a year would afterwards answer all necessary charges [s]. The arbitrary proceedings of the Queen, abovementioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princess, as well as by her father, checked very much the growth of trade; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted or did not find it necessary to act in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of Parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the still-yard as on other aliens: Yet the Queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, suspended these acts of Parliament [t]. No body in that age pretended to question this exercise of

[s] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

[t] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364.

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the prerogative. The hiſtorians are entirely ſilent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

AN abſurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unleſs he had ſerved an apprenticeſhip for ſeven years. This law was repealed in the firſt year of the Queen's reign; and this plain reaſon given, that it had occaſioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined ſeveral towns[u]. It is ſtrange that Edward's law ſhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ſtill more ſtrange, that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt.

A PASSAGE to Archangel had been diſcovered by the Engliſh during the laſt reign; and a beneficial trade with Muſcovy had been eſtabliſhed. A ſolemn embaſſy was ſent by the Czar to Queen Mary. The ambaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but being hoſpitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received at London with great pomp and ſolemnity[x]. This ſeems to have been the firſt intercourſe, which that empire had with any of the weſtern potentates of Europe.

A LAW was paſſed in this reign[y], by which the number of horſes, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each perſon, according to the extent of his property, ſhould be provided of for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thouſand pounds a year, for inſtance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge ſix horſes fit for demi-lances, of which three at leaſt to be furniſhed with ſufficient harneſſes, ſteel ſaddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten light horſes fit for light

[u] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7. [x] Hollingſhed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71. [y] 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.

horſemen,

CHAP. XXXVII.

1538. horſemen, with furniture and weapons requiſite for them; He was alſo obliged to have forty corſlets furniſhed; fifty almain revets, or inſtead of them, forty coats of plate, corſlets or brigandines furniſhed; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty ſheafs of arrows, thirty ſteel caps or ſkulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions or ſallets. We may remark, that a man of a thouſand marks of ſtock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a year: A proof that few or none at that time lived on their ſtock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the courſe of their trade. There is no claſs above a thouſand pounds a year.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

20 JY 63

Page

108. Protestants - Original Meaning of this Word.
115. Henry's Justice to Wolsey after his Death.
116. Origin of the - so-called - Royal Supremacy in England.
117. Extreme Subjection of the Commons of England to the Sovereign.
256. Iniquitous Demands of Henry on Francis I. The Alliance of Charles with Henry a Proof that Charles had as little Reverence for the Pope, as when he invaded Rome.
257. Great Folly in the Part of Henry to have plundered the Church - a Folly which the shrewd Charles easily saw through. The King received from the Church on all Occasions, nearly double of what he could extort from the Laity; and he received this ecclesiastical Contribution without Murmur or any Need of Force to exact it. See page 272
Courageous Protest of Lord Montacute against Proclamations.
258. Ultra-papal Exactions of Henry on public Faith.
263. Atrocious Injustice of Henry with Regard to a forced Loan.
272. Extreme Profligacy of Parliament, with Respect to the Revenues of the Universities.
278. Detestable Cruelty in the Case of Anne Ascue.
284. Almost incredible Iniquity of a Jury on the Trial of Fauncy.
285. Cranmer's generous Behaviour to the Duke of Norfolk.
286. Short Sessions of Parliament during Henry's Reign.
298. Low Price of Meat.
299. High Interest of Money.
305. Spiritual Benefices given to Laymen.